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American SOCIOLOGICAL Review

October
1947

Official Journal of the
American Sociological Society

Volume 12

Number 5

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IN THE BUREAU OF NAVAL PERSONNEL

Edited by DEWEY B. STUIT

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THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW is published at 450 Ahnaip Street, Menasha, Wisconsin, bi-monthly in February, April, June, August, October and December. Copyright 1947 by the American Sociological Society.

Membership dues of the Society, including subscription, are \$6.00 per year. Subscription rates: non-members, \$4.00; libraries, \$9.00. Single issues, \$1.00. Postage is paid by the publishers in the United States, Canada, and other countries in the Pan-American Union; other countries in the Postal Union, fifty cents.

Address all business communications to the Managing Editor, AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW, Ernest R. Mowrer, Department of Sociology, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois. Changes of address must be requested at least one month in advance.

Address all editorial communications to the Editor, 115 Haven Hall, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan. All unsolicited manuscripts must enclose return postage.

Address all matters pertaining to book reviews to the Book Editor, 115 Haven Hall, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Entered as second-class matter at the post office at Menasha, Wisconsin, under the Act of March 3, 1879. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in the Act of February 26, 1925, embodied in paragraph 4, section 538, P. L. and R., authorized June 4, 1936.

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BUREAUCRACY: THE PROBLEM AND ITS SETTING*

REINHARD BENDIX

University of California

MEN have combined their efforts in large-scale organizations¹ throughout history, but they have done so under many different circumstances and their more or less voluntary cooperation has taken many different forms. It may well have required as many men to construct the irrigation system and temples of early Mesopotamian civilization, as are needed today for the operation of large industrial enterprises.² The large-scale organizations of modern Western Civilization are, therefore, not noteworthy for their size, but for the problems peculiar to *our forms* of organized cooperation. These forms are characteristically modern in so far

as they depend on a minute division of labor and on the precise enumeration of rights and duties with which a person is endowed for the duration of his service. If such a specification of rights and duties is consistently carried out, it will ideally result in an exhaustive definition of the powers of command (their extent and their limits) appropriate to every position within an administrative hierarchy. However, we do not ordinarily think of large-scale organizations in this sense. We are rather inclined to note that their division of labor leads to "red tape" and to monotonous work for the individual employee. And we suspect, even if we may not be able to prove it, that especially the "higher" employees of such organizations will be able and eager to evade their duties and abuse their authority.

I. "THE IRON LAW OF OLIGARCHY"³

Many students of the role of large-scale organizations in Western civilization take this latter view. They readily grant that these organizations are indispensable in modern civilization. But they assert that their policies are in effect determined by organized

* Manuscript received May 19, 1947.

¹ The term "organization" serves as an over-all designation of the various forms of deliberately organized co-operation among men. By "large-scale organization" reference is made to the growth in size, detailed division of labor and consequent specialization, which characterizes *modern* economic and political organizations. The term "administration" refers to the formal hierarchy in the division of labor, by means of which the work of an organization is accomplished. ("Administration" is related to "organization" as the interrelation of its parts is related to the entire motor.) "Bureaucracy" refers to the informal relations, without which the formal administrative hierarchy could not get its work done; these relations are "informal" in the sense that we are unable to stipulate rules which would effectively govern these relations.

² See Gordon Childe, *What happened in History* (New York: Penguin Books, 1946), 82-105.

³ Cf. the exposition of this theory in Robert Michels, *Political Parties* (New York: Hearst's International Library, 1919) and Gaetano Mosca, *The Ruling Class* (New York, 1939). Cf. also the restatement of the theory by Philip Selznick, "An Approach to the Theory of Bureaucracy," *American Sociological Review*, VIII (1943), 47-59.

minorities, for whom the unorganized majority is no match.⁴ It is, therefore, meaningless to distinguish between different organizations by the "purposes" they are said to serve. The "purpose" of any organization is determined by the "interests" of its ruling clique.

But can these "interests" or "purposes" be readily identified? The "purpose" of business, for instance, is ordinarily described as profit. Yet, the individuals who conduct the business may have a great diversity of "interests" in mind, of which profit for the business may be one. The relation between the "interests" of individuals and the "purpose" of profit is indeterminate in the sense that any number of different administrative actions might lead to business "success." Except as individual cases are examined empirically,⁵ it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine in what manner the various "interests" of individuals have contributed towards the "purpose" of a business. It will be less ambiguous, then, if we speak of the success rather than the purpose of an organization, since we can do so without judging the intricate interrelations between administration and its results.

In pursuing their own interests the members of an organized minority may, however, prevent the success of an organization. This may be attributed to the fact that the organized minority has formed an idea of the "success" of the organization which conflicts with the ideas which others have formed. The criteria of "success" are themselves controversial. Such controversy is likely to exist both inside and outside any large-scale organization. It is, therefore, misleading to assume that a ruling clique can deliberately prevent the "success" of an organization, while everybody else agrees on the methods

and the desirability of achieving it. Rather, an organized minority can maintain its power and it can make *its* idea of success prevail, as long as disagreement is widespread both with regard to the meaning of "success" and to the methods by which it is to be achieved.

The "iron law of oligarchy" is inadequate in that it speaks of the superior power of organized minorities without giving sufficient attention to the causes of dissensus inside and outside the organizations studied.⁶ The "law" is also inadequate in so far as it is based on a narrow, technical view of administration. It assumes, along with the efficiency expert, that the administrative process is both *rational* and *neutral*. As a result it asserts that an organized minority can use its position of power to direct an organization in accordance with its "interests." To this end the minority can count on the efficient and disinterested service of the employees of the organization. These assertions confuse the *concept* of technically rational administration⁷ with the *reality* of the administrative process. No large-scale organization is in fact "technically rational," because it must always involve

- a) the social and ideological background of a diversity of persons, which their formal positions within an administrative hierarchy cannot obliterate;
- b) the institutional setting in which the organization must function and its effect on the psychology of internal operation;
- c) the historical and psychological context in which the people outside the organization view its activities.

It is the special task of the sociologist to observe the effects of these factors on the administrative process of any large-scale organization.

⁴ This criticism may be made, for instance, of the otherwise excellent study by Oliver Graceau, *The Political Life of the American Medical Association* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1941).

⁵ This term refers to Max Weber's ideal type of modern administration, according to which the administrator is an expert, who adheres strictly to the ideal of neutrality. As a consequence he will confine himself exclusively to the implementation of policies without modifying their explicit or implicit content in any way.

⁴ Mosca, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

⁵ For an illustration of the difficulties involved in ascertaining how decisions in business are arrived at, cf. the study by Robert A. Gordon, *Business Leadership in Large Corporations* (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1945), 46-98. The same point is illustrated in Leo Tolstoy's characterization of the relation between General Staff decisions and actual military action. See *War and Peace* (New York: Modern Library, n.d.), 1110-46.

These considerations indicate that the power of any organized minority is circumscribed by the internal and external social setting of the organization which it seeks to control. Such an organization can be used in the interest of a minority the more easily, the more the administrators adhere to the ideal of impartial, competent service. But this ideal is perhaps never realized, since the actions leading to its realization cannot by definition be motivated by the spirit of neutrality. The minority may foster this "spirit of neutrality," in order to make the organization a more pliable tool. But if the minority will use an organization for its own interests, then it must also frequently resort to the deliberate manipulation of personal and ideological influences, in order to achieve its ends. In this way it may undermine rather than strengthen the tendencies, which might otherwise foster the "technically rational" aspects of administration. Perhaps the most telling illustration of this point is the experience of the German Secret Police, which had encouraged denunciations in order to facilitate the *systematic* detection of all latent opposition to the Hitler regime. This policy made it imperative from time to time to "denounce the denouncers," because the flood of denunciations for various personal reasons had become *unmanageable*.⁸

But if there is no regular connection between rational administration and oligarchical abuse, neither is there such a connection between rational administration and democratic institutions. Broadly speaking, whether one or the other will be the result, depends upon the social and psychological setting in which a technically rational administration is attempted. However, the studies of large-

scale organization have failed so far to make this dependence the center of their analyses. They have rather been concerned *either* with tracing the processes by which modern administration in business and government has become technically more rational; *or* with analyzing the "human factor," which is necessarily involved in the administration of any organization.⁹ In concentrating on either one or the other aspect these studies have tended to obscure the real issue. Modern large-scale organizations do not show a clear separation of their technical and psychological aspects. They may be more readily understood, I believe, if the interrelations between the technical requirements of the flow of work and the social and psychological predispositions of the individuals engaged in this work are analyzed. Our understanding of this interrelation may be enhanced, however, by a brief examination of the studies, which have treated these aspects separately.

II. STUDIES OF "RATIONALIZATION"

It is a familiar idea that modern Western Civilization is increasingly characterized by bureaucratization. In the past scientific analyses have characterized this development as one of increasing "rationalization." In the field of government administration this term refers to the substitution of learnable rules of procedure for the exercise of individual caprice (of the king or his representatives) and to the substitution of a nation-wide government for the autonomy of small, decentralized government units with their adherence to local traditions. Thus, the German historian Otto Hintze has shown in detail how the modern cabinet system gradually developed out of the various offices in the King's household. He traces, for instance, the Treasury or Finance Department in various modern governments to the King's servant who was responsible for collecting

⁸See E. Kohn-Bramstedt, *Dictatorship and Political Police* (London: Kegan Paul, 1945), 114-15. If a dictatorial regime attempts to avoid this difficulty by discouraging denunciations, it usually finds itself compelled—in the absence of spontaneous information—to organize a system of "spies upon spies." Such "systematic" efforts at obtaining needed information entail their own unforeseen consequences. How this system may affect factory production is illustrated by Victor Kravchenko, *I Chose Freedom* (New York: Scribner's, 1946), 75-81.

⁹I leave out of consideration the voluminous literature on the art of management. Interestingly enough this literature also treats the rational techniques of management (e.g., testing, job classification, time-and-motion studies) separately from a psychological study of personnel and public relations.

and guarding the monies owed to the King. In addition, Hintze points out how modern administration has clearly separated state from household finance and in so doing has replaced the traditional erratic methods of the past by regularized and formally legal administrative procedures.¹⁰ This same "rationalization" of government has been analyzed by Ernest Barker in his study of the development of public services in France, England, and Prussia since 1660.¹¹ Professor Barker has stated that prior to 1660 the state was still identified with the King's family household. Its resources were the King's private property and the nobility had special privileges in the government's administrative and military organization, both in terms of claims on offices and on the revenues obtained from them.

"This confusion of the idea of the State with notions of Family, Property and general Society was generally characteristic of Europe about 1660. . . . So long as it persists, it complicates and checks the development of a pure and specific administration of public services. The disengaging of the idea of the State, as a service-rendering organization for the protection of rights and enforcement of duties, is the prior condition of such a development. There are two great landmarks in the history of that disengaging. One is the institution of absolutism, as it was inaugurated by Louis XIV. The other is the proclamation of national sovereignty, as it was made in 1789. Both of these movements, opposed as they are, agree in postulating a conception of the State as something separate and *sui generis*."¹²

Professor Barker has traced in some detail the history of this disengagement in the fields of administration, conscription, taxation, social services and education. It seems plausible to conclude, both from Barker's and from Hintze's analysis, that administration in the modern state is by contrast clearly separate from the "general society," with

which it was confused at an earlier time. Indeed, in analyzing the overall result of the development, which these historians have traced, contemporary sociology has centered its attention on this disengagement of government administration from society.

Which are the characteristics that distinguish the administration of the modern state from that of all other forms of political organization? According to Max Weber the key to this distinction lies in the concept of professionalization.¹³ Specialized training and thorough examinations are today indispensable prerequisites for the recruitment of government officials. They are appointed rather than elected. Their work in its professional capacity is integrated into a hierarchy of command by way of enabling statutes and procedural rules. The special competence of each appointee is utilized in fulfilling the particular duties ascribed to the office which he (temporarily) occupies. Thus, modern administration is ideally the very antithesis of arbitrary rule. Its every action is predictable since the principles of its organization are designed to rule out any possible intrusion of personal factors such as political convictions, personal bias, or corruption.

This construction of "rational" administration rests on the assumption that office holders as a group believe in this "rationality." "Rationalization" of the administrative process depends on the development of a professional ethics. The administrator must be thoroughly committed to a *faithful execution* of his duties. He must be devoted to a preservation of the *impersonal* character of his work. And he must confine it within the limits of his professional competence.¹⁴ In

¹⁰ Cf. for the following the chapter on bureaucracy in H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), 196-244.

¹¹ This last maxim of his professional ethic is usually formulated in terms of the distinction between routine administration and the political process. Cf. Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1936), 100-103, and Ramsay Muir, *Peers and Bureaucrats* (London: Constable, 1910), 31, 37. See also in this connection Alfred Weber's characterization of national dif-

¹² Otto Hintze, "Die Entstehung der modernen Staatsministerien," *Historische Zeitschrift*, C (1907), pp. 60-64, 70-72, 91.

¹³ Sir Ernest Barker, *The Development of Public Services in Western Europe, 1660-1930* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1944).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 5-6.

return he will demand a regular salary, security of tenure, regularized advancement and pension provisions. In addition, he ordinarily expects that his position as an agent of the government carries a reasonable degree of social prestige, the more so since his educational training and his standing as a technical expert should bring such esteem regardless of the public office which he occupies.

The studies of "rationalization" in the large-scale organization of government, which have here been reviewed, have in common that their major emphasis is derived from a contrast of modern with earlier forms of organization. Modern administration is "rational" in contrast to administration under feudalism or in the era of absolute monarchies with its emphasis on tradition and its identification of office and incumbent. That is to say, the performance of given tasks within these modern forms of organization has become more uniform and predictable. But this is *not* to say that this performance is *in fact* uniform and predictable. As many recent studies¹⁸ have shown, this greater rationality of modern organizations has failed to eliminate the "human factor." This factor has not been ignored by those scholars who have emphasized the development of "rationalization." Many of them have in fact pointed to the various unwitting and disorganizing consequences which this "rationalization" has entailed.¹⁹

Men are unable and unwilling to restrain the further development of technology and administrative organization. At the same time they cannot utilize these products of their efforts for their own increased material,

ferences in the professional ethics of administrators in his essay, "Der Beamte," *Ideen zur Staats- und Kultursociologie* (Karlsruhe: G. Braun, 1927), 88-101.

¹⁸ See below under III for a discussion of some of these studies.

¹⁹ Cf., among others, W. F. Ogburn, *Social Change* (New York: Viking Press, 1922) in the field of technology, E. Rothschild, *The Meaning of Unintelligibility in Modern Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934) for art, and Robert Redfield, *The Folkculture of Yucatan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941) in relation to city life.

cultural and psychological well-being. The various implications of this problem have been one of the major concerns of modern sociology. Karl Marx observed¹⁷ how the machine had become the embodiment of man's intellect and had at the same time created a worker whose human faculties were atrophied. Toennies and Simmel¹⁸ emphasized that the substitution of the "rational" cash-nexus for the more personal relationships of an earlier society brought in its wake the dissolution of traditional social bonds and threatened the very rationality of modern society. Finally, Mannheim has shown¹⁹ that modern technological and administrative organizations involved a disjunction between substantial and functional rationality. That is to say, modern occupations are divided into those competent to construct the blueprints of technical apparatus or administrative organization, and those competent to "read and apply" these blueprints without being able to comprehend the principles on which they are based.

The more complicated technology and administration become, the more difficult it also becomes to control the uses to which these devices are put. Indeed, the development of large-scale organizations may lead to an increasing desire to escape from the necessity of deliberation and rational calculation.²⁰ This desire will in turn increase man's disability to control the products of his scientific and organizational enterprises. Thus, the "human factor" is indeed considered by those who emphasize the development of "rationalization," but it is considered in

¹⁷ Karl Marx, *Capital* (New York: The Modern Library, 1936), 395-404. See also Thomas Carlyle, *Past and Present* (New York: Merston Comp., n.d.), p. 9: "Things, if it be not mere cotton and iron things, are growing disobedient to man."

¹⁸ Ferdinand Toennies, *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* (Leipzig: Hans Buske, 1935), 8-86 and Georg Simmel, *Philosophie des Geldes* (Leipzig: Duncker and Humblot, 1910), chapter V.

¹⁹ Karl Mannheim, *Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1941), 39-75.

²⁰ Cf. on this point Erich Fromm, *Escape from Freedom* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1941), 24-39, 103-135.

terms of the effects of this development. However, the "human factor" has *not* been considered as a contemporary and indispensable foundation,²¹ on which the rationality of large-scale organization depends. It is, for example, insufficient to state that the efficiency of government administration depends upon the professionalization of administrators. What factors promote or retard this professionalization? It is true that administration becomes more uniform and predictable if the people who are affected will respect the administrator for the neutrality with which he performs his duties. But what fosters this attitude of respect? Furthermore, it is true that "rational" administration depends on the ability of administrators to encourage co-operation and initiative in their subordinates. But what are the conditions which favor the development of such abilities? Obviously it is insufficient to characterize only the formal prerequisites of administrative rationalization; it is necessary to consider its human preconditions as well.²²

III. STUDIES OF THE "HUMAN FACTOR"

To the extent that studies of government administration have considered these "human preconditions" at all, they have taken their clue from various analyses of industrial organization. While many differences exist between industry and government, the problems of large-scale organizations are still sufficiently alike, to make the studies of one type of organization useful for an understanding of the other. It is for this reason that I turn to a brief consideration of industrial relations.

The studies of "rationalization" in industry have emphasized from the first, in contrast to the analyses of government adminis-

tration, that it was important to consider the individual participant in the production process. For instance historians concerned with the rise of the modern factory have stressed the many obstacles of individual working habits, the lack of accuracy and discipline, which stood in the way of this development: In the words of the Hammonds:

"Scarcely any evil associated with the factory system was entirely a new evil in kind. In many domestic industries the hours were long, the pay was poor, the children worked from a tender age, there was overcrowding. . . . But the home worker at the worst . . . was in many respects his own master. He worked long hours, but they were his own hours; his wife and children worked, but they worked beside him, and there was no alien power over their lives. . . . The forces that ruled his fate were in a sense outside his daily life; they did not overshadow and envelop his home, his family, his movements and habits. . . ."

What the new order did in all these respects was to turn the discomforts of the life of the poor into a rigid system. . . . To all the evils from which the domestic worker had suffered, the Industrial Revolution added discipline, and the discipline of a power driven by a competition that seemed as inhuman as the machines that thundered in factory and shed."²³

Clearly this process entailed untold suffering. But many of the historians from Marx to the Hammonds viewed this aspect of the industrial revolution primarily in a humanitarian manner. The fact tended to be overlooked that the suffering which occurred during the Industrial Revolution was the "instrument" by which the "human material" was gradually shaped into conformity with the requirements of machine production.²⁴

This humanitarian concern with the "human factor" during the period of industrialization was a response to management's

²¹ As distinguished from its consideration in an analysis of the history of modern "rationalization."

²² It may be objected that these are considered, for example, in the various studies of personnel management. However, these studies, important as they are, are practical, not analytic; they fail to probe the conditions which spell the success or failure of their practical application. A provocative analysis of this problem is contained in Herbert A. Simon, "The Proverbs of Administration," *Public Administration Review*, VI (1946), 53-67.

²³ J. L. and Barbara Hammond, *The Town Laborer, 1760-1832* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1925), 18-19.

²⁴ Contemporary illustrations of the importance of this factor may be found in John Scott, *Behind the Urals* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1942) and Kuo-Heng Shih, *China Enters the Machine Age* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1944).

attitude towards the worker. Yet this attitude determined the organization of production. In writing of this problem as it appeared during the early 19th century, the Hammonds have shown by what reasoning the absolute supremacy of the entrepreneur was justified. It may suffice to quote only one of the arguments which were popular at the time:

"When there is too much labor in the market and wages are too low, do not combine to raise the wages; do not combine in the vain hope of compelling the employer to pay more for labor than there are funds for the maintenance of labor; but go out of the market. Leave the relations between wages and labor to equalize themselves. You can never be permanently kept down in wages by the profits of capital; for if the profits of capital are too high, the competition of other capital immediately comes in to set the matter right."²⁵

"It is easy to see," say the Hammonds by way of comment, "how this kind of reasoning produced the prevalent view of the capitalist as beneficent whatever the wages he paid or the conditions he imposed."²⁶ Yet, ironically these very practices of exploitation had the effect of decreasing rather than increasing industrial production. Indeed, "scientific management" began with the discovery that exploitation led to lower productive output.

"Many have long experienced in manufacturing operations the advantages of substantial, well-contrived, and well-executed machinery. Experience has also shown the difference of the results between mechanism which is neat, clean, well-arranged, and always in a high state of repair; and that which is allowed to be dirty, in disorder, . . . and much out of repair.

"If then, due care as to the state of inanimate machines can produce such beneficial results, what may not be expected if you devote equal attention to your vital machines, which are far more wonderfully constructed?"

And in answering the question which he had posed, Robert Owen indicated that it was profitable to consider the role of the "human factor" in the production process.

"I have expended much time and capital upon improvements of the living machinery; and it will soon appear that the time and money so expended in the manufactory of New Lanark, even while such improvements are in progress only, and but half of their beneficial effects attained, are now producing a return exceeding 50%, and will shortly create profits equal to cent per cent on the original capital expended in them."²⁷

From Owen's day to the recent development of "industrial sociology" it has been a recurrent theme, that proper and controlled attention to the worker's subjective role in the production process would be both humanitarian and practical. While Owen was a reformer and stressed the financial advantage for propagandistic reasons, later writers retained this appeal primarily because empirical studies showed the positive effect of improved personnel policies on individual output. Thus, the principle which Owen had formulated early in the 19th century has remained the same ever since. Frederick Taylor's statement of the same idea may serve as an illustration.

"The majority of men believe that the fundamental interests of employees and employers are necessarily antagonistic. Scientific management, on the contrary, has for its very foundation the firm conviction that the true interests of the two are one and the same; that prosperity of the employer cannot exist through a long term of years unless it is accompanied by prosperity for the employee, and vice versa; and that it is possible to give the workman what he most

²⁵ Robert Owen, *The Formation of Character* (1813) quoted in L. Urwick and E. F. L. Brech, *The Making of Scientific Management* (London: Management Publication Trust, 1946), II, 57. The authors of this work ask: "if the principles of effective management were understood, why was it that hours of work were universally so long and conditions so poor? Why did Owen encounter such opposition in his fight for minimum standards laid down by law?" (*Ibid.*, 66). The answer does not simply lie in a reference to the forces of competition or the bigotry and ignorance of the employers, though both undoubtedly were of importance. As mentioned above, considerable importance should be attributed to the tradition of compulsion, which the enforcement of a new work-discipline had initiated, because it was indispensable in machine-production.

²⁶ Quoted in Hammond, *op. cit.*, 209.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

wants—high wages—and the employer what he wants—a low labor cost—for his manufacture."²⁸

It should be remembered that Taylor confined himself to considerations of "human efficiency" and that he was concerned with substituting a rigorously planned working performance for the traditional, rule-of-thumb approach of each employee to his work. Taylor believed that his goals (as defined above) could be accomplished by detailed time and motion studies. But his writings show that he was aware of the many psychological problems which stood in the way of making his scheme of "task management" acceptable to the worker.

Taylor's successors have become increasingly concerned with these psychological problems inherent in the rationalization of the production process. They have continued the experimental testing of various factors which were either positively or negatively correlated with the output of the individual worker. Detailed experimentation in this field has indicated, however, that the factors constituting the external working conditions are neither singly nor in combination responsible for the volume of output of the individual worker, as long as they are considered apart from the social and psychological effects of his status in the work group.²⁹

The famous Hawthorne experiments³⁰ confirm this point. The controlled observation of small work groups over a number of years indicated that increased production on the whole seemed more closely related to the "morale" of the group than to any of the

variables (e.g. differently spaced rest pauses, mid-morning meals, higher pay, variations in illumination, temperature, etc.) which were tested.³¹ And this "morale" was related to the improved manner of supervision, the prestige position which members of the test group occupied, the increased attention which their individual problems, opinions and suggestions received, etc. This result of the experiments was regarded as a discovery for two reasons. For one, the history of the labor movement and of labor legislation had focussed attention on the attainment of minimal working conditions (in terms of hours, wages, safety devices, etc.). This made it appear plausible that these "conditions of work" were the causes of satisfaction. Secondly, management's tendency to think of the worker as the subordinate antagonist whose every demand was a challenge of managerial authority, made any concern with the causes of dissatisfaction unthinkable. Yet these experiments have done little more than confirm an old insight. Apparently Robert Owen was aware of the fact that the worker's satisfaction and full co-operation in the production process depended upon his recognition as a responsible human being and could not be obtained as long as he was treated as a cog in the production process. It seems equally clear that Karl Marx discerned the "human problem" of industrial civilization when he pointed out that the co-operation of laborers was not the result of their own efforts, but instead the work of an "alien power" over them.

"Laborers (under capitalism) cannot co-operate without being brought together: their assemblage in one place is a necessary condition of their co-operation. . . . Being independent of each other, the laborers are *isolated persons*, who enter into relations with the capitalist, but not with one another. This co-operation begins only with the labor process, *but they have then ceased to belong to themselves*. On entering that process they become incorporated with capital."³²

³¹ This statement disregards the relatively few cases in which personal preoccupation interfered with the workers' output. Cf. Mayo, *op. cit.*, 101-112.

³² Karl Marx, *op. cit.*, 361, 365. (My insert and italics.)

²⁸ Frederick W. Taylor, *The Principles of Scientific Management* (New York: Harpers, 1919), 10.

²⁹ Elton Mayo, *The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization* (Boston: Harvard University, Graduate School of Business Administration, 1946), 1-54.

³⁰ In addition to the writings of Elton Mayo cf. especially F. J. Roethlisberger and W. J. Dickson, *Management and the Worker* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1943) and T. N. Whitehead, *Leadership in a Free Society* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936) and the same author's *The Industrial Worker* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938) 2 vols.

And somewhat further on in his analysis Marx speaks of the human consequences of this mediated co-operation of the workers.

"While simple co-operation leaves the mode of working by the individual unchanged, manufacture thoroughly revolutionizes it. . . . It converts the laborer into a crippled monstrosity, by forcing his detail dexterity at the expense of a world of productive capabilities and instincts. . . . The knowledge, the judgment and the will, which, though in ever so small a degree, are practised by the independent peasant and handicraftsman . . . —these faculties are now required only for the workshop as a whole. Intelligence in production expands in one direction, because it vanishes in many others. What is lost by the detail laborers, is concentrated in the capital that employs them. It is a result of the division of labor in manufactures, that the laborer is brought face to face with the intellectual potencies of the material process of production as the property of another, and as a ruling power."²³

It is consistent with this statement to say that real human satisfaction is not to be found in the various improvements of working conditions, important though they are. It does not seem to go beyond these insights of nearly a century ago if Mr. Mayo states that the "many conflicting forces and attitudes," which are found in industrial relations.

"center about . . . the work and the manner of its performance. Somehow or other, no effective relationship between the 'worker and his work' had been established; and since a community of interest at this point was lacking the group failed to establish an integrate activity and fell into a degree of discord which no one could understand or control. . . . If an individual cannot work with sufficient understanding of his work situation, then, unlike a machine, he can only work against opposition from himself."²⁴

By what factors, then, is the development of "morale" and co-operation among workers hampered? As is well known, Marx did not believe that it was possible to incorporate the worker's initiative, his pride and whole-hearted co-operation in a common task of

production as long as he was subject to the necessities of an organization whose operation and purpose were planned and conducted without his participation. On the other hand, the various authors associated with the Industrial Research of the Harvard School of Business contend that *Management is in a position to create the conditions under which this "morale," this spirit of co-operation on the part of the workers can flourish.*

"Maintaining internal equilibrium within the social organization of the plant involves keeping the channels of communication free and clear so that orders are transmitted downward without distortion and so that relevant information regarding situations at the work level is transmitted upward without distortion to those levels at which it can be best made use of. This involves getting the bottom of the organization to understand the economic objectives of the top; it also means getting the top of the organization to understand the feelings and sentiments of the bottom."²⁵

It is of interest to observe that the policy which is advocated here does not seem feasible in the light of the experimental evidence on which it is based.

The so-called Relay Assembly Test Group, to give but one example, (this group of five girls was carefully observed for a number of years) showed a great deal of co-operation with the experimenters and among themselves with the result that their level of output increased considerably. But this co-operation was due to the considered attention bestowed on the group (rather than to its external working conditions). Such attention would be incompatible with a large-scale production process.

"To the investigators, it was essential that the workers give their full and whole-hearted co-operation to the experiment. . . . In order to bring this about, the investigators did everything in their power to secure the complete co-operation of their subjects *with the result that almost all the practices common to the shop were altered.*"²⁶

²⁵ F. J. Roethlisberger, *Management and Morale* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1944), 192-93.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 14. (My italics.)

²³ *Ibid.*, 396-97.

²⁴ Mayo, *op. cit.*, 118-19.

Mr. Roethlisberger himself concludes, therefore, that under the working conditions of large-scale production it is impossible to provide a setting which promotes the kind of co-operation such as the experimental group showed.^{36a} Nevertheless, the experimenters proceeded to develop an interview program which was designed to free the production process from the various emotional difficulties and personal antagonisms that were found to lower the output of some of the workers under observation. But such interviews could not reproduce under ordinary working conditions what the experiment had achieved: to give each person pride in his work and in the successful performance of the group. The interviews, when practiced at large, could only succeed in eliminating from the production process the various personal factors, which had so far persistently retarded its further rationalization. On balance it proved to be more efficient to have the individual worker unburden his personal troubles to an interviewer, even if that cut down his time on the job; he was not a good worker while he worried about personal affairs, and he was likely to slow up his fellow-workers. Thus, it is not the co-operation of the workers which is increased, but some human "obstacle" to the further rationalization of the production process, which is eliminated.

I have tried to indicate in what manner the "human factor" in industrial organization has been analyzed. The basic shortcoming of these studies in industrial sociology lies in their insufficient awareness of the technological and institutional compulsions of large-scale organizations. Mayo, Roethlisberger, and others, have assumed that the production goals set by management furnish the only valid criteria for the interpretation and evaluation of industrial relations.³⁷ As a result they have found that workers are insufficiently co-operative, al-

though they attribute this to the ills of our civilization.³⁸ But what appears as insufficient co-operation from the managerial point of view, may be evidence of co-operation nevertheless. It is found, for example, that workers tend to set social standards for the output of their group through informal understandings. Does this mean that they lack the spirit of co-operation, or that their spirit differs from that desired by the employer? Roethlisberger has stated that such behavior is evidence for the "lack of social function" in the job of the worker.³⁹ But can improved personnel policies restore to the worker that feeling of personal importance and integrity which the production process denies him? Is such a personnel policy even compatible with the organizational requirements of the production process? Mayo and others have stated that in our society "collaboration cannot be left to chance."⁴⁰ They believe that the suspicion, hostility and conflict which beset our industrial world, can be at least greatly alleviated if management sees its way towards improving employee relations. But they fail to ask how much the good "morale" of workers is worth in monetary terms, and they are indifferent to the question whether the process of production generates the very hostilities which interfere with its operation.⁴¹

IV. COMPLIANCE AND INITIATIVE IN BUREAUCRATIC CONDUCT

The analysis of large-scale organization in the modern world will be deficient, as long as it makes *either* the formal organizational structure *or* the informal human relations within that structure the vantage point of its observations. The historical approach conceives modern organization in industry or

^{36a} Elton Mayo, *The Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1945), chapter I.

³⁷ Roethlisberger, *Management and Morale*, 24-25.

³⁸ Elton Mayo's Foreword to Roethlisberger, *Ibid.*, p. xix.

⁴⁰ As a result industrial problems are almost exclusively treated as problems of defective communication. Cf. Gardner, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

³⁶ See also Whitehead, *Industrial Worker*, I, 254.

³⁷ Cf. Burleigh B. Gardner, *Human Relations in Industry* (Chicago: Richard D. Irwin, 1945), who defines the factory as "a coordinated system of activities directed to the production of goods." (p. 4).

government in terms of a contrast to earlier forms. Consequently, it stresses the *greater* rationality of modern organization. The managerial approach, on the other hand, focusses its attention on the as yet unmanaged aspects of human relations, which have "asserted" themselves in all organizations. The tacit assumption is made that thorough study will show us how these "remaining human irrationalities" may become manageable. But this assumption is unwarranted in so far as the division of labor and the work relations requisite to the productive (or the administrative) process necessitate precisely those human irrationalities which management is now seeking to remove.

It is apparent that neither of these approaches has a sufficient theoretical basis. This shortcoming is not overcome by the observation that the studies of "rationalization" overlook the human factor, and vice versa. Instead, it is necessary to show in what manner all large-scale organizations require for their success a "proper" *irrational* foundation. In this respect the basic problem of all large-scale organizations is the same. Such organizations depend for their effectiveness on a clearly understood hierarchy of authority. Yet, they would break down if every official would follow all regulations to the letter and consult his superior whenever these rules do not provide sufficient guidance. Such "typically bureaucratic" behavior would interfere with the functioning of the organization at every point. All organizations depend, on the other hand, on the ability and the willingness of their employees to act on their own initiative, whenever that is called for. Yet it would be clearly incompatible with their effective operation, if every official conducted the business assigned to him in accordance with his independent judgment. It is consequently imperative that the employees of all ranks in industry and government strike a balance between compliance and initiative, that they temper their adherence to formal rules by a judicious exercise of independent judgment and that they fit their initiative into the framework of formal regulation. Both the effective exercise of power or the effective organization of produc-

tion depend in some measure on this mixture of compliance with authority and the creative exercise of initiative. All large-scale organizations face the problem of finding formal and informal ways, by which such a balance may be facilitated.

This balance between compliance and initiative is likely to vary with cultural and institutional differences. The contrast between business and government is perhaps the most obvious case in point. Initiative is concerned with market chances in business, but with political chances in government. Compliance in business is a matter of managerial arrangement based on a wage contract. Compliance in government involves in addition the special legal liabilities and disabilities of the civil servant, which concern the spirit of his work, not only its performance. Business is relatively free from being bound by precedent, it is not encumbered by the anticipation of checks other than failure of the venture itself. These obvious differences have their basis in the conditions under which in each instance the formal hierarchy of authority allows—more or less unwittingly—for an exercise of independent judgment.

In stating the problem in this manner we may have a clue to the systematic analysis and differentiation of large-scale organizations, which goes beyond the obvious contrast of government and business.⁴² Attitudes toward risk-taking, towards authority, and toward the public, as well as the institutional conditions of the "working climate" differ from industry to industry and from government to government. These and other variables affect the relationship of the individual employee to the organizational hierarchy; they modify the manner in which he functions within the organization and in which he sees its over-all purpose. It may be useful to illustrate these points by contrast-

⁴² In the study of business organizations it has always been assumed that they are essentially similar in countries of comparable economic structure. Certainly, the similarity of technical and administrative problems in large-scale industries makes this view plausible. Yet there is reason to believe that this assumption is misleading. Cf. the interesting essay by Hermann Levy, *Volkscharakter und Wirtschaft* (Leipzig: B. G. Tuebner, 1926).

ing the ideal types of democratic and authoritarian administration.⁴³

Authoritarian administration is characterized by the fact that the official is both obedient and arbitrary. His strict compliance with the orders of his superior is not tempered (as it is under democratic conditions) by responsiveness to public demands. Reliance is placed on the feeling of loyalty, which the official demonstrates by his unquestioning support of the prevailing order of authority. Such loyalty implies a difference in status between officialdom and the public and in this manner "testifies" to the reliability of the authoritarian official. In bringing his orders nearer execution this loyalty of the subordinate finds its counterpart in the fact that he must now become a superior in his own right. In doing so he acts as a "leader" to whose guidance the people should submit without question. To be sure his authority is limited, but the official nevertheless confronts his public as the representative of higher authority rather than as a "public employee."

"The official in the middle and the lower ranks of the service is in some respects similar to the officer. . . . Even without uniform there is a strong feeling of comradeship and a feeling of solidarity against civilians. . . . The subordination of lower to higher ranks in the officialdom is similar to relations in the army and it is tolerable only when it is compensated for by a feeling of special status of the officials as against the public. . . . Officials in the middle and lower ranks still represent the superior power and wisdom of the state towards a public to whom the larger meaning of public administration is indifferent or incomprehensible. Indeed, the official will tend to regard the importance of his administrative section the more highly the less he is able to comprehend the real over-all significance of his own work."⁴⁴

In this as in all systems of administration much is left to the discretionary exercise of

"Although this contrast uses only illustrations from Government Administration it applies equally well in my opinion to other types of large-scale organizations.

*Ottohein von der Gablentz and Carl Mennicke, *Deutsche Berufskunde*, (Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut, 1930), 428-29. (My translation).

authority. It lies in the spirit of "authoritarian discretion" that a successful maintenance of authority is in the end more important than its possible abuse. In case of failure the official is punished, not so much for an abuse of his authority, but for his "demonstrably disloyal" (i.e. unsuccessful) exercise of it. Such methods of administration lead in the extreme case to continuous suspicion downwards and the attempt to evade responsibility on the part of subordinates. There is a telling description of this in Walter L. Dorn's analysis of Prussian bureaucracy under Frederick the Great:

"Frederick the Great cherished the inveterate belief that his officials were bent on deceiving him. . . . This distrust became an integral part of the bureaucratic system. Unreserved confidence he reposed in none of his ministers. He kept them in a perpetual state of uncertainty as to what he thought of their honesty and capacity. . . . He frequently struck upon the expedient of committing the task of reporting on any particular piece of business to two or three different officials, none of whom was aware that others were engaged in the same mission. When he did not wholly trust an official he charged an underling with secret supervision. To control his ministers he regularly corresponded with the presidents of the provincial chambers, and to assure himself of the veracity of the latter he often dealt with the individual members of the provincial chambers. By this continuous correspondence with officials and their subordinates, by controlling ministers through their subalterns and subordinates through their equals, the king tapped extraordinary sources of information which, besides the ordinary channels of information . . . , acquainted him with everything he seriously desired to know."⁴⁵

Obviously, this system of authoritarian supervision has since become impractical with the growing complexity of administration in a modern state. Modern dictatorships have

"Walter L. Dorn, "The Prussian Bureaucracy in the 18th Century," *Political Science Quarterly*, XLVI (September, 1931), 421-22. For a modern parallel see Alexander Barmine, *One Who Survived* (New York: G. P. Putnam, 1945), 196-233, 237-45. A comparable situation in business is discussed in "The Stewardship of Sewell Avery," *Fortune*, XXXIII (May, 1946), 111-13, 179-86.

instituted instead elaborate administrative organizations for the systematic supervision of the political loyalty of the people and all government employees. A modern police system can employ the most advanced techniques in its closely calculated control over large populations.⁴⁶ Although these techniques have freed authoritarian supervision from the limitations of centralizing power in one person, they cannot escape from the necessity of forever duplicating their supervisory checks, because in this system no one spy can be trusted.

In democratic administration officials are given commands of greater latitude than under authoritarian conditions, and their execution of these commands is subject to a rather diffuse supervision. The democratic official is ideally expected to be obedient to his superior, but he does not thereby express his loyalty to the people's mandate. On the other hand, he is to exercise his authority in the spirit of service, not of mastery. The democratic administrator stands, therefore, in an ambivalent relationship to his superior and his subordinate. His compliance, his orders and his initiative are tempered by a sense of direct, if imponderable accountability to the people. In this respect, superior and subordinate are equals before the public, although they are unequal within the administrative hierarchy. This peculiar characteristic of democratic administration is well illustrated by the problems encountered in law enforcement:

"The policeman may observe a multitude of violations, some relating to laws and ordinances which were never intended by the enactors to be enforced, others involving minor regulations of public order. . . . Their very number and variety are such that their requirements are largely unknown to the people to whom they apply. Hence violations are extremely common. . . .

"The policeman's art, then, consists in applying and enforcing a multitude of laws and ordinances in such degree or proportion and in such manner that the greatest degree of social protection will be secured. The degree of enforcement and

the method of application will vary with each neighborhood and community. There are no set rules, nor even general guides to policy, in this regard. Each policeman must, in a sense, determine the standard which is to be set in the area for which he is responsible. . . . Thus he is a policy-forming police administrator in miniature, who operates beyond the scope of the usual devices of popular control. He makes and unmakes the fortunes of governmental executives and administrators, though rarely falling under the direct influence of the popular will. The only control to which he is subject is the discipline of his superiors."⁴⁷

And yet, his superiors are dependent for their success on the wisdom with which this policeman in his law enforcement practices will respond to the *indirect influences* of the community.

In exercising such discretion in his direct contact with the public the democratic administrator is ideally as concerned with administering a policy as he is with the execution of a command. (Indeed, he is always contributing to a policy, whether he knows it or not.) Yet, this policy continues to be subject to a multiplicity of influences to which the administrator must remain sensitive. (Shifts in policy under authoritarian conditions always take the form of new orders from above.) This implies that the democratic official does his duty in the continuous anticipation of checks on his authority, both from his superior and from his "public" (which includes legislatures, pressure groups, affected individuals, etc.). He is trained in considering his office as a mandate of responsibilities, which are subject to more or less continuous modification. Yet, his mandate is nevertheless of a general character, it is meant to be an integral part of a scheme of policies in process of reformulation. He *must*, therefore, seek to redefine his function in this scheme on the presupposition that some rational policy emerges from the "conflict of interests" and in the belief that—whatever the policy—this "conflict" itself is a basic and worthwhile feature of the democratic process.

⁴⁶ This point is especially emphasized by E. Kohn-Bramstedt, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-6, 95-117, 137-56.

⁴⁷ Bruce Smith, *Police Systems in the United States* (New York: Harpers, 1940), 20.

The authoritarian administrator is, on the other hand, more immune, his work is less directly subject to "pressures" from outside the official hierarchy. Under authoritarian conditions obedience and loyalty are synonymous, since each administrative superior is ideally the only source of command, the representative of the regime and the source of its policy formulation. For each subordinate policy emanates from the top and is unaffected by the administrator's direct contact with the public. The role of each official in the execution of overall policy is, consequently, a matter of intra-administrative discussion and adjustment. And because each subordinate administrator is in this sense remote from the public, responsibility for policy determination is more clearly confined to the top administrators and is by the same token less affected by public opinion. It follows from these considerations that an administration will be the more democratic, the more its officials are directly affected by the "antagonism of influences"⁴⁸ and the more they are, therefore, drawn into participating, more or less directly, in the processes of policy formation.

The preceding confrontation of two ideal types of bureaucracy may serve both to dispel some misconception and to focus attention on the major area of inquiry in this field. Both forms of administration may function efficiently. This is the case under authoritarian conditions when the esprit de corps of the administrative group is high, its loyalty to the regime intact and in harmony with public attitude, and its resultant feeling of security a good foundation for the exercise of individual initiative by the administrator within this framework. It is the case under democratic conditions, when the spirit of public service among administrators is well developed, their responsiveness to public demands kept within limits by the public's restraint in pressing for individual privileges and by the administration's success in achieving consistent policy formulations which rep-

resent genuine compromises of the various conflicting groups.

Both forms of bureaucracy may also develop the pathology of large-scale organizations. Authoritarian bureaucracy can become a clique ridden by suspicion. Its primary concern with self-preservation results in the alienation of the public, a growing inability to operate efficiently, and the duplication of functions, which a more or less developed internal spy-system necessitates. Democratic administration may deteriorate, on the other hand, because the frustrations of administrative work deter qualified men and because suspicion of any authority goes so far as to make effective policy formulation and execution impossible.

The temptation is strong to summarize the difference between democratic and authoritarian administration by reference to Mannheim's distinction between functional and substantial rationality, which was mentioned earlier. Authoritarian officials would be thought of as efficient in the use of administrative techniques without proper comprehension of their role in the overall policy decision on by the Dictator (functional rationality). Democratic officials would combine, on the other hand, administrative inefficiency with an understanding of the basic policies which they are called upon to implement (Substantial rationality).⁴⁹ This application of Mannheim's distinction does not aid us, however, in our analysis of large-scale organizations. Mannheim himself would point out that all subordinate administrators suffer from the special incapacity which exclusive attention to the techniques of implementation entails. Democratic and authoritarian officials share in the inability of comprehending the political program which "governs" their actions. Besides, Mannheim's distinction suffers from overstating its case.⁵⁰ It is impos-

⁴⁸ This distinction has been used to characterize Nazi administration. See E. Kohn-Bramstedt, *op. cit.*, 2-6 and John H. Herz, "German Administration under the Nazi Regime," *American Political Science Review*, XL (August, 1946), 684-86.

⁴⁹ Karl Mannheim, *Man and Society*, *op. cit.*, 51-60. This is not to deny, of course, that Mannheim, has pointed to a constant source of friction. The

⁵⁰ John Stuart Mill, "Representative Government," in *Utilitarianism, Liberty and Representative Government* (London: E. P. Dutton, 1910), 201.

sible to run any large-scale organization without some provision for fitting the specialized technician into the larger framework of operation. It is, however, not possible to direct his every action; some reliance must, therefore, be placed on his own overall comprehension of his function and on the initiative which he develops in implementing this comprehension by co-operative action. Thus, both democratic and authoritarian officials must grapple with the problem of overcoming the "trained incapacity" (Veblen) of the administrative technician to see the larger policy framework. Both will tend to use the rationalizations of their respective political philosophies, for instance, as guidance in all cases in which they need but cannot obtain a knowledge of basic policies.⁵¹

Democratic and authoritarian administrations differ, therefore, in terms of their respective institutions and culture patterns, not

distinction goes back to Karl Marx, *Capital*, *op. cit.*, 361-65, 395-99.

⁵¹ The behavioristic importance of political philosophies in a study of administrative conduct has not so far been sufficiently considered. See in this respect John M. Gaus, Leonard D. White, and Marshall E. Dimock, *The Frontiers of Public Administration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936).

because one is representative and inefficient, while the other is efficient but arbitrary. The distinction between these two types of administration is an outgrowth of "historical experience" and present circumstances. As such it affects the manner of the administrative technician, who combines obedience and efficiency with the initiative that is essential to the success of large-scale organization. It is not useful, therefore, to consider these organizations from the point of view *either* of their "rationalization" *or* of their "human irrationalities." The problem of bureaucracy lies rather in the manner in which technical and administrative rationality are combined with the exercise of individual initiative in the accomplishment of a common task. Men have combined their efforts in large-scale organizations throughout history. Their success today will depend on whether or not they can combine the efficiency of modern organization with a flexibility which allows the individual in that organization to use his imagination and to apply his convictions, rather than do his job in a routine way. It is not only a question of preserving freedom against the encroachments of bureaucracy. Rather, we cannot profit from the efficiency of large-scale organizations unless we succeed in making the initiative of the individual one of our principles of organization.

THE DIFFERENTIATION OF LOGICAL LEVELS IN SOCIAL INQUIRY*

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IN DEALING with population problems and related subjects we necessarily operate on different logical levels. Discussions are commonly confused by failure to distinguish these levels, to appreciate the nature and limitations of each, and to recognize the proper relation of each to others. It is possible to differentiate four distinct levels involving scientific inquiry, beyond the more primitive modes of discourse that still run through

a large part of our daily lives. These may be defined as follows:

1. *Science.* Inferences that are rigidly controlled by systems of implication, such as mathematics, and by precise observations.

2. *Technical judgments.* Scientifically informed but nevertheless subjective, intuitive judgments in a field in which a scientist has special competence.

3. *General theories.* Theories that are partially grounded on scientific inferences but that are predominantly intuitive.

* Presidential address, Population Association of America, Princeton, N.J., May 17, 1947.

4. *Policy designs.* Formulations of possible procedures presented as hypotheses for action.

Science is the product of the fertile union of hypotheses and observations. Hypotheses are the active element in this union. They direct inquiry to significant observations and provide the framework by which observations can be controlled and made precise. Mathematics and other formal systems of implication also provide the necessary framework for the development of empirical inferences, grounded on observation, in systematic scientific theory. The development of scientific theory, in turn, may reveal a need for new hypothetical systems. Hypotheses and observations are thus complementary and dynamic in their inter-action; together they provide that dual control which gives scientific theory its unique value.

A critical test of scientific theory is that any two workers using the same logical apparatus in relation to the same observations must reach identical conclusions. Scientific inferences are, therefore, "objective," in the sense that they are independent of the personal biases that necessarily infect all intuitive judgments. Much confusion can be avoided if we limit the term "science" to such rigidly controlled and therefore strictly objective theory.

Demography as a science has advanced rapidly during the last quarter century. Both of its essential ingredients have been extended and refined. There has been a great increase in the volume of data on population and, equally or more important, such data have been improved in precision and in relevance to significant hypotheses. Anyone who has been using American census and vital statistics and related information by public and private agencies in this and many other countries is well aware of this progress.

The demographer today is also equipped with a growing body of appropriate mathematical and logical formulations for the guidance and interpretation of research. Much of this theory has been formed around a central core, the theory of a "stable population," which defines the hypothetical relations between age-specific fertility, age-specific mor-

talidity, age and sex composition, and rates of population change. There is documentary evidence that the germ of this system was at work in Lotka's mind at least forty years ago, but it was first presented effectively to population students in 1925. This theory has stimulated many parallel and corollary developments. It is still undergoing extension and modification, as evidenced by Whelpton's recent paper in the *Journal of American Statistical Association*. It has been a creative force in the development of scientific population theory.¹

Any interpretation of a concrete situation involves an element of intuitive judgment—at least a judgment that the concrete situation conforms to the conditions specified in an appropriate theory. The most useful interpretation of a social phenomenon, such as population change in a particular situation, often involves a combination of scientific inferences with judgments that can not be rigorously controlled by any logical apparatus. Judgments of this sort which are *in part* intuitive but are nevertheless controlled in large part by scientific inferences constitute a second logical level, here called *technical judgments*.

Technical judgments, when recognized as a distinct logical process, have usually been described as "engineering" or by some other term which implies immediate application to practical ends. But the distinction is equally pertinent in purely theoretical inquiries. Any judgment about the probable future course of the American population, or the economic effects of a declining population, or the genetic significance of differential reproduction, if based in high degree and so far as possible on rigid scientific inferences, would be a *technical judgment* according to this definition. For reasons that I shall now discuss, such judgments must, I believe, form a large part of significant population theory—and more so in the immediate future than in the past.

The empirical value of any scientific theory depends in part on the degree to

¹ At this point, the audience rose and drank a toast "To Alfred J. Lotka, the father of mathematical demography."

which relevant *conditions* are explicitly and precisely taken into account in its formulation. For example, the superiority of a system of sex- and age-specific hypotheses in population projection over the logistic or any other global hypothesis is that a system of specific hypotheses includes a formulation of one important set of conditions involved in natural increase. The measurement of fertility in different empirical situations can also be made more precise, as has been shown by Glass and by Whelpton, by taking into account duration of marriage and parity of mother (or birth order), or age and parity and fecundity and frequency of marriage. Sex, age and parity may be regarded as intrinsic factors in the abstract formulation of the dynamics of population; but variation in the frequency of marriage is an extrinsic institutional factor which is here explicitly taken into account. Formulations of natural increase have been or can be made specific in relation to other conditions, such as contraceptive practice, *mores* relating to sex, industrial organization, opportunity for the employment of women outside the home, and general level of employment.

These relevant conditions influencing natural increase are, for the most part, institutional structures, which vary in different societies and at different times. A social institution is in part the product of particular historical conditions and has unique features. In so far as a social situation is unique it can not be precisely described in any scientific system. One can not formulate a rigidly scientific statement of the Republican Party or the structure of the American economy. Yet all social processes exist and operate only within particular sets of institutional structures. One can reduce the risk involved in the empirical application of scientific inferences about human relations by increasing specificity in the statement of conditions; but one can never completely eliminate this risk because it is impossible to specify all the relevant conditions affecting any set of social relations.

It is important to recognize that different situations vary enormously as regards the risk involved in basing empirical judgments

on any given scientific theory. So long as the scientific inferences of the demographer, or any other social scientist, are applied within a fairly constant institutional framework, these empirical interpretations may have a high degree of validity, even though many of the relevant conditions are not defined. The empirical value of any scientific formulation of social processes varies *directly* with the specificity of conditions taken into account; it varies *inversely* with the degree to which other relevant conditions are diverse in different situations, or changing within the same situation.

Social scientists who deal with some processes that may superficially appear to be more elusive, such as attitudes or status relations, may have less difficulty in defining the conditions within which their scientific inferences have empirical validity than the scientist who deals with such an aggregate phenomenon as population change. The abstract character of population analysis is deceptive. Population changes, as such, can be precisely measured. Census enumerators reported that there were 486,869 persons in Washington, D.C., on April 1, 1930, and 663,091 persons on the same day in 1940. We know that these figures are not absolutely exact; but their correction would not greatly simplify the problems of interpretation. The point I wish to emphasize is that the precise increase (36.195 per cent) was determined by the interaction of the most complicated and rapidly shifting institutional forces in American society. The relative effect of even the most important institutional factors in this situation can only be appraised in technical judgments involving a large element of subjective intuition. Similarly an interpretation of population trends in the Soviet Union during the last intercensus period that left out of account the operation of the five-year plans, the collectivization of agriculture, the construction of the Turkestan-Siberian railway, the closing of the abortion clinics, and many other institutional changes could have little empirical value.

Most of the scientific inferences of contemporary demographers have been formulated within one broad, stable institutional

frame-work—the orderly development of western society, characterized in its economic life by equilibrium among competitive enterprises and in its family life by the gradual diffusion of the pattern of consciously controlled fertility. All this was part of an expanding world economy centered at first in Western Europe and then in Western Europe, the British Dominions, the United States and Japan. Within this institutional framework the mere mathematical formulation of population trends had much empirical value—even without a very complete statement of conditions, because the major controlling conditions themselves were developing in orderly sequence. The profound changes now taking place in European society and the radically different institutional structure of Asiatic society, which is also undergoing revolutionary changes, make any reliable interpretation of world population movements exceedingly complicated.

This is notably the case with respect to fertility. So long as the movement of fertility was largely a function of the diffusion of the pattern of conscious control, a mathematical projection of this movement had predictive value for the future. Such a projection was, at least in large part, really a projection of the diffusion of a culture pattern, although it was formulated in terms of birth frequencies. In so far as this is the case, such a projection ceases to have any empirical value as the control of conception in any population approaches completion. Unfortunately the level of fertility in a society where all families are planned may vary widely in different institutional situations, and must be expected to rise and fall in relation to complex and changing patterns of economic organization, levels of employment, and public policies. Any projection of declining fertility beyond the point at which conscious control becomes generally effective gives results that have exactly the same logical significance as does a projection of fertility below the zero level. The results have immediate validity only in that realm of pure possibility where pink elephants and negative birth rates have logical status. They may, however, have positive theoretical value. A comparison of

observed events with such projections provides a clue to the force of new conditions not present in the original situation. Similarly, the effect of various technical judgments or hypotheses about expected population trends can be measured against such a mathematical projection as a theoretical norm.

The demographer is often confronted with a real dilemma in interpreting concrete situations. He may be forced to choose between the mathematical projection of scientific inferences that have doubtful relevance to the actual situation under investigation and the formulation of technical judgments which he believes have greater empirical validity but which are subject to the errors that infect even the most informed intuition. Such technical judgments may take the form of arbitrary adjustments of rigidly scientific inferences. Sometimes when this is done, the hand is the hand of mathematics, but the controlling voice is the voice of intuition; the relationship between these elements may, however, be truly functional. In other cases, a frankly stated technical judgment, or a statement of alternative possibilities with some appraisal of their relative probability, may provide the most useful final formulation—supplemented by an exposition of relevant data, scientific inferences, and hypothetical calculations.

The demographer's lot in some ways is not a happy one. He is acquiring a beautiful set of measuring instruments just as the whole institutional framework in which his material is set is shifting so rapidly that his measurements may have less value in controlling empirical judgments today than results formerly produced with cruder tools. The problems with which he deals are becoming complicated at an even more rapid rate than his scientific apparatus is being developed. This is not to say that his results today would be better if his scientific apparatus were simpler. Quite the contrary, he must use the most precise methods possible in deriving scientific inferences, with careful attention to their logical force and limitations. He must devote a large part of his energy to devising new techniques for the precise formulation of various factors

that he could previously ignore with impunity. At the same time, in so far as he seeks to produce results that have empirical value with respect to broad population movements and their social implications, he must, I believe, cultivate greater humility, and frankly recognize that his best services to the community will frequently be the careful formation of technical judgments—at the logical level of the practicing physician. He will, in doing so, properly insist—as does the physician—that such judgments within a field of professional competence, though subject to errors that cannot be rigidly defined, merit much greater confidence than the uninformed judgments of a layman.

The analysis of economic, social and political problems involving demographic factors requires complex judgments in various fields that must be in large part intuitive—i.e. operations on the *third* logical level: *general theories*.

Institutional structures in so far as they are unique lie outside the field of the precise social sciences; but they are the most critical elements in modern society. The institutions of industrial nations have been rapidly expanding in *depth* over a long period. The interaction between economic and political and social institutions has become increasingly complex, and these changing complex structures exercise an increasingly powerful influence in the daily life of individuals. Meanwhile social institutions have been expanding *horizontally* in space until, quite suddenly, all nations have become involved in a dynamic institutional network that is charged with high tensions.²

²The neglect of the significance of unique elements in complex institutional relations damages the otherwise lucid and cogent exposition of the nature of social science recently presented by Lundberg in *Can Science Save Us?* Types of family behavior, many political processes, delinquency, and the formation of attitudes can be sampled and studied experimentally, providing a basis for formulations and interpretations on the first and second logical levels defined above. The illustrations set forth in the early chapters to show the positive achievements and possibilities of social science are drawn from such studies. The author then proceeds in the final chapter to discuss the efficacy of the United Nations Organization, without any explicit

Public administrators and diplomats, who are presumed to be most expert in the management of institutional relations, are assumed to function in a democracy as the servants of the people, responsible for implementing the objectives which in theory the citizens of the nation spontaneously evolve. Moreover such officials cannot freely and publicly discuss all the implications of alternative policies. Therefore, the most important leaders in the shaping of public opinion today are probably the radio commentators and newspaper columnists, feature writers and editors. They are citizens who have recognized ability to formulate broad interpretations of public affairs and to present such theories in a style that is appreciated, as edifying or entertaining, or both. They are particularly facile participants in the great forum of which we are all members.

It is commonly said that the scientist as citizen is entitled to participate in the forum

recognition that he is shifting to a higher and more precarious level of discourse. "The dominant current faith is a moralistic-legalistic thoughtway, sharply at variance with our analytical attitude toward the rest of nature. The pathetic faith and hopeful trumpetings about so frail an instrument as the United Nations Organization provides a perfect example" (p. 104). The treatment that follows concerning the relative utility of regional and world organizations is intelligently developed and is partially based on rigid scientific inferences. Lundberg's conclusions on this subject may, or may not, be valid; and if valid this may, or may not, be for the reasons set forth. There is, however, no recognition that other equally well-informed social scientists may, and have, come to different conclusions. Only the emotional loading of the language at this point suggests that we have passed beyond those problems which "are to be solved, if at all, by the use of instruments of precision in hands that do not shake with fear, with anger, or even with love" (p. 21). This neglect of the distinction between regular sequences that are the proper subject of science and problems saturated with unique elements that must be intuitively appraised leads Lundberg to disparage political and social history. Historical research is in the main an analysis of unique institutional developments which are never precisely repeated but which do facilitate our intuitive interpretation of present and future possibilities. In giving "undivided faith to science" (p. 115), we must not confuse different logical levels or ignore the rich content of historical studies.

of public opinion but that such participation has no relation to his proper function as a scientist (or as a scholar responsible for formulating technical judgments). One of the implications of this idea is absolutely sound. Any formulation of general theory on complex issues in which intuitive judgments are predominant must be sharply distinguished from technical judgments. Any professional worker who presents general theories as science, or even as technical judgments, prostitutes his profession and breeds confusion. One can not too strongly insist on the maintenance of a sharp distinction between these different logical levels.

Another implication of the popular idea which I have just mentioned is, I think, quite fallacious. It is sometimes implied that the process of formulating such general theories on the part of a scientist has no *intrinsic* relation to his work as a scientist. It is said that the same man may "happen" to make useful technical judgments and also to contribute useful general theory. The scientist-citizen according to this interpretation is a schizophrenic personality who carries on two quite uncorrelated types of intellectual activity within the same skin.

I do not maintain that the general theories advanced by social scientists are superior to those advanced by physicists, or physicians, or priests, or business executives, or union leaders, or professional diplomats. I do, however, maintain (1) that theories on a common problem advanced by members of these different professions will tend to have some intrinsic relation to their professional training, their particular fields of experience, and their special interests, and (2) that contributions by social scientists, as well as by persons in other fields, to the formation of public opinion on institutional issues may be a valuable *part* of the total democratic process. The training of any scientist, who is a real scientist as demonstrated by his work on technical problems, will enhance the objectivity of his approach to controversial problems at times when many people may be somewhat hysterical. As regards the relevance of the subjects studied by social scientists to most public issues, the case is

perhaps somewhat more dubious. But where one's studies have forced him to deal with the operation of social institutions in a rather broad field, as in the case of those concerned with general population theory, their studies should have some relevance to many major problems. Finally as regards interests, it may be assumed that a scientist—apart from the common interests of every citizen—is likely to be chiefly interested in his own professional advancement and his status among his colleagues; but he is also likely to have acquired some genuine interest in the formulation of coherent theories, in the reconciliation of conflicts, and in the progress of mankind. These interests are at least as proper as the interests of most other citizens. It follows that the demographer, or any other scientist, has a positive responsibility to participate in the formation of general theory in matters of social importance, on which no one is qualified to speak with scientific authority. He must, however, always make clear to himself and to his listeners or readers that such opinions are not science or even technical judgments but merely personal theory, drawn from a particular and partial background of experience.³

There is much confusion concerning the relation of values to science and theory. Values combine organic and social preferences with purely intellectual elements. Oranges and melons acquire a positive value because they have pleasant taste and color and have made us feel good after we ate them. They have an established status in our folkways and personal behavior. Recently, scientific inferences in the field of nutrition have caused us spontaneously to reorganize our values with respect to these foods and, in particular, to intensify our positive evaluation of oranges. We don't ordinarily think about this when we reach for oranges; the new valuation now functions more or less as an end in itself. It is, of course, always possible to treat any value as a means to some more final end, and to subordinate this to some still more final end, *et cetera*. We can say

³ The address, as delivered, included a series of observations on population and related social issues which is omitted in this presentation.

that we eat, in order to be strong, in order to earn money, in order to go to Miami Beach, in order to know God and enjoy Him forever. But actually a pure final value is an abstract fiction—so far as most values by which we live from day to day are concerned. These functional values by which we live from day to day are shot through with traditional beliefs, scientific inferences and general theories. The person who believes in heaven, in the Marxist interpretation of history, or in the theory of relativity, will have a different value frame than a person who does not have the same belief.

The scientist may, therefore, change the value frame of society merely by developing scientific inferences, technical judgments, and general theories. Even when he presents such ideas with the intention of influencing the value judgments of other people, he does not function on any different logical level than in formulating and presenting similar ideas as pure theory for theory's sake—provided that he does not use emotionally loaded symbols or other extraneous, affective devices. Such ideas do not involve what are commonly called "value judgments," which are a synthesis of cognitive ideas with organic and traditional preferences.

Propaganda has two principal weapons. One is the use of value judgments disguised as statements of fact or pure theory. Obviously, such behavior is utterly incongruous with scientific work. The other weapon of the propagandist is the use of affective devices, such as emotionally loaded symbols, to influence the value judgments of other people. Propaganda, in this sense, may be either vicious or salutary. I would not minimize the role of moral leaders who can orient the interests of other people around new value designs. But the scientist is more properly concerned with the purely intellectual elements in the formation of values. It would be arbitrary to prohibit a scientist from clothing his contributions with affective appeal; but it seems to me that such behavior is somewhat incongruous with his main responsibility. The introduction of affective elements into controversy tends to

destroy that objectivity that is the essence of the scientific spirit.

There is, however, an important intellectual function in connection with the evolution of social policy, beyond that of presenting relevant scientific inferences, technical judgments, and general theories. This is the formulation of *policy designs*, the logical development of their hypothetical implications, and the presentation of such designs as possible patterns for action.

Individuals and societies gradually develop general principles of action to which they subordinate other values and around which they organize their lives. A deadlock between parties whose interests have been centered around conflicting objectives can sometimes be resolved by a new policy design which satisfies the most vital interests of the contending parties. This is the essence of the "diplomatic formula." It is often the major contribution of the conciliator in industrial disputes. Such designs may supply the key to solution of complex social problems. The Myrdals' design of family subsidies in kind as a central principle in democratic population policy is a good example.

Such "creative ideas" and their development have the same logical structure as other hypotheses and systems of implication, but in view of their special role in policy formation, it is useful to refer to them specifically as a *fourth* logical level: the formulation of value designs (or policy designs) as hypotheses for action. Many capable social scientists in the United States today are inhibited from offering such contributions freely by the widespread confusion that surrounds the theory of values. If freed from these inhibitions, social scientists might increase their usefulness by giving greater attention to the formulation of significant policy designs and the development of their hypothetical implications—to be presented purely as hypotheses for action, subject to spontaneous acceptance or rejection in the process of democratic policy formation.

I have described four types of intellectual activity which have different character and functions. It is my thesis that activities on these various logical levels must be differen-

tiated at all times, and that, if they are not confused but clearly differentiated, contributions on these different levels can be and properly are complementary. Their relation to one

another is not accidental but intrinsic. Simultaneous complementary advance on all these levels opens to modern man the most promising path to wisdom as the guide of life.

SOME FACTORS AFFECTING THE ORGANIZATION AND PROSECUTION OF GIVEN RESEARCH PROJECTS*

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RESEARCH methods and procedures are matters to which sociologists have always given a great deal of attention. Few subjects, in fact, have been discussed with as much heat on as many occasions or have accumulated as voluminous a literature. Nearly every text-book writer has felt constrained to warn unwary students against the pitfalls of bias and the methodological errors of his contemporaries in an extended exposition of the requirements of the scientific discipline. Every respectable graduate curriculum includes from one to a half-dozen courses on methodology in which lectures and discussion are supplemented by student reading in an extensive bibliography. As interest in *Wissenssociologie* has grown, sociologists have even shown a disposition to examine their own research behavior from the point of view of sociology itself. The more perspicacious among them have perceived that sociology—like a religious sect or a political party—is a form or aspect of collective behavior, and that the sociologist as a person—like the patriarch, the gangster, or the professional thief—develops within a social and cultural context apart from which he cannot be understood and cannot understand himself.

Despite all this concern about soundness of method and the relevance and validity of various modes of analysis and generalization when we are thinking explicitly about method in the abstract, notwithstanding even the implications of the currently developing

sociology of sociological knowledge, most of us, when we embark on a specific research venture of our own, assume that the way we set it up and carry it through to a supposed solution is determined by the nature of the problem itself and by dictates of the scientific method and point of view. We may have been biased in our selection of the project but, from that point on, bias does not enter in, because facts are facts and scientific method is scientific method under all circumstances.

Yet if several of us were working independently on a *given* problem—the etiology of some form of race prejudice, for example—there would undoubtedly be wide divergences among us in the way we would organize and prosecute our researches and in the general form, if not the specific content, of our solutions. We would differ categorically in the kinds of data we would deem requisite, the techniques we would use in discovering these data, the modes of analysis we would bring to bear upon them, and the kind of generalization that, in our several judgments, would constitute a satisfactory solution. Our sociological acquaintances could make fairly accurate forecasts for each of us in all these respects. Some of us would observe behavior only in its external manifestations and would be distrustful of introspective materials; others while not ignoring overt behavior would consider it relatively valueless as a datum unless the corresponding covert aspects of experience were also known. Some would almost certainly resort to life histories, some would make case studies, some would select samples and proceed statistically, still others would endeavor

* Paper read before the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, Chicago, Illinois, December 27-30, 1946.

to construct "controlled experimental situations." The generalizations with which some of us came out would describe within stated limits the behavior of actual persons and groups under the complex circumstances of real life; the conclusions drawn by others would be highly abstract generalizations, rarely descriptive of behavior in the concrete situations of real life because the simplified conditions assumed in the statement of any conclusion are seldom found in real life. And some sociologists would be fairly sure to discover evidences of the determining effects of class structure; others would find in infantile experiences adequate explanatory clues; still others would consider their quest ended only when they had fitted to their data, without too much distortion, a logistic, Gompertz, or other measure of trend.

These wide divergences in the handling of a given research problem would not occur if the procedures we follow and the types of solution we seek were wholly determined by the nature of the problem and the requirements of scientific method. Obviously they are not so determined. We select them, and our selections are restricted or directed by many extra-scientific factors operating upon and within us in varying combinations and with varying degrees of intensity.

Some of these extra-scientific factors, external and arbitrary in their mode of operation and generally not controllable by the student himself, keep us from selecting the sources of data we would prefer to tap, impose severe limitations on our use of sources, and make it impossible for us to employ the analytical methods we deem most appropriate. Research takes time, costs money, needs competent personnel with specialized skills, and requires work space, laboratories, and equipment of various sorts. These resources are seldom in plentiful supply, nor are they equally available to all who need them. Not infrequently, a research worker cannot attack his problem as he would like to, but must resort to an inferior method because it takes less time, money, and equipment, and is within the competence of available personnel. If he is studying attitudes, for example, he may have to sub-

stitute simple polling questions of the "yes-no" type for free-answer or "open-ended" questions that encourage respondents to talk about the issues or values presented to them, and he may, in addition, have to reduce the number of interviews to a point where certain desired types of analysis cannot be made.

Moreover, access to and methods of utilizing such resources as are available may be limited by the predilections and prejudices of those persons who allocate them. Deans of graduate schools, research committees of university faculties, trustees of foundations, and project clearance officers in governmental agencies usually review the plans for accomplishing a research project as well as the value of the anticipated results, and fully as much consideration is given to proposed methods and techniques as to project justifications. Just as different universities, research centers, and foundations develop specialized interests in certain types of problem—the growth process of the child, race relations, international relations, for example—so they sometimes tend, although in lesser degree, to have specialized methodological preferences. These preferences operate as a continuous pressure in the selection and implementation of research undertakings, not only because of discriminations in granting or withholding funds, but also because of the prestige these agencies have in the community at large as well as in academic circles.

Whether or not the research is undertaken under the auspices of one of these agencies, it will be judged by them when it is completed and the major material rewards—jobs, publication, and other forms of professional advancement—bestowed accordingly. Researchers are almost certain to have some part of this audience before them, consciously or unconsciously, as they devise and carry on their projects and prepare their reports. Perhaps most of us are influenced more than we admit, even to ourselves, by our anticipations of the applause or censure we may get from those whose opinion matters most to us.

Examination of our own research behavior would reveal another set of extra-scientific factors, also essentially external, that limit

or otherwise influence the selection of research procedures. Research goes on in an environment of conventions, moral prejudices, institutionalized practices and ideologies, and whenever one of our projects impinges upon this body of social and cultural fact it may have to proceed by indirection. Quinn McNemar has suggested that, because so large a proportion of attitude studies have used college students as subjects, our present social psychology might better be called a "social psychology of sophomores." This use of students as sources of data, though undeniably dictated in most instances by considerations of convenience and economy, is sometimes done because students are more understanding or tolerant of professorial curiosities about such delicate subject-matters as the sex mores or political ideologies. Government research workers are often prohibited from collecting certain types of data because of the fear of Congressional criticism or the fairly certain prospect of vitriolic criticism in the press and by letter, and have to turn to documentary sources or some form of indirect evidence.

But conventional and institutional environment affects the availability of data and the way data are or may be collected in still other important ways. In certain research projects, the student is limited to types of data that have already been collected and compiled by the Bureau of the Census, the Public Health Service, or some other federal, state, or private agency, and may even have to accept many of the classifications that were devised by the collecting agency for its own purposes and that are ill suited to the purposes of the project under study. The incidental effects of these limitations are particularly apparent in the field of opinion and attitude research and in other fields where sampling is used. In constructing representative samples of the purposive type the categories used—age, sex, occupation, residence, etc.—are those about which the requisite information is available in recorded sources. In collating the opinion data themselves these same conventional classifications tend to govern the groupings that are abstracted from the total sample in order to

get a more detailed picture of the distribution of opinions and attitudes or as an aid to inference about causes. Yet these particular breakdowns may not be helpful to the administrator who wants to use the findings from the study in directing his informational and educational programs; nor are they likely to isolate variables that determine people's opinion.

But more important than the institutional and other essentially external restrictions and pressures are the extra-scientific factors which we ourselves introduce into our research procedures—the premises (usually unstated), the preconceptions, and value judgments of the one who is doing the research. These factors are more important not only because their distorting effects are greater, but also because they are so subtle, so implicit, so deeply rooted that it is difficult for us to discern them in ourselves or, when they are called to attention, to avoid rationalizing them instead of examining them objectively. Most of these biasing assumptions have been called to everyone's attention in courses in method and on other occasions, so that we should be aware of them, but the increase in their prevalence that has accompanied the unfortunate decline of good armchair—i.e., rigorously systematic—sociology suggests a need for recalling them as a basis for a little wholesome self-criticism. In the time I have left, I propose to state with brief comments a few of these personal and subjective extra-scientific, or anti-scientific factors.

1. The assumption that only individuals are real, that all behavior is individual behavior, and that the causes of social and cultural changes are to be found in individual mechanisms. Perhaps few of us think that we are in any degree subject to this nominalistic bias, but I believe that careful scrutiny of our sociological production would convict large numbers of us of being incorrigible nominalists at heart. How many researches in the field of personality development, or how many treatises on this subject, can you cite that clearly and consistently conceive of the person as a role played in a group or even as a system of roles each of which derives

from one of several tangential and intersecting groups? Most of us, in fact, are less successful than a good football coach in avoiding the nominalistic bias. He has no difficulty in abstracting the team as a relatively closed system of interaction within which roles are defined, or in abstracting the role of tackle and explaining it without reference to the peculiar biology or psychology of the individual who happens to be playing it at a given moment in a given game. And his abstract conception of the team and of team play is useful to him as a tool of analysis and means of control just because it is abstract. But we seldom find as consistent abstract analyses of groups and roles (persons) coming from the workshops of the sociologists.

In consequence of the nominalistic bias, we tend to examine individuals and to come out with generalizations about numbers of individuals rather than about groups. Students of attitudes and opinions have been particularly addicted to this bias. In little of their research is there evidence of any organic conception of the public or public opinion. The public is millions of individuals, behaving as individuals because of individual motivation. And public opinion is something that can be got at by collecting a good sample of individual opinions and summing them. As has already been indicated in another connection, the subordinate groups into which the "general public" is broken by the use of such criteria as age, sex, and urban-rural residence do not correspond to functional groups within which issues are defined and discussed, and emotional and ideational unities developed. And it is notable, in this connection, that sociologists have made virtually no contributions in the form of improved criteria to supplement the present ones, which are sociological in only a very elementary sense.

But students of other types of collective behavior exhibit the same bias. In an unrecorded discussion of current social aggressions among minority groups at a recent meeting of District of Columbia sociologists, the causes of aggressions were found to lie in social situations incident to the war. But

when attention turned to methods of controlling them, the only suggestions forthcoming involved the utilization of such individual psychological mechanisms as substitution and sublimation; no mention was made of control by way of modifications in the social situations within which, according to the previous analysis of causes, the aggressions were being continuously produced.

2. The assumption that science is technique rather than a systematic body of principles and laws. A variant of this assumption goes further to identify science with a *specific* technique or group of related techniques—the experimental or the statistical, for example. Though precedent can be cited for this usage of the term, *scientific*, it is confusing and is certainly one of the important reasons why sociologists vary widely, not only in the selection of methods and procedures of research, but also in their conceptions of what constitutes a solution of a research problem.

A statement of the probable frequency with which behavior of a certain kind occurs under the complex conditions of real life, though interesting and useful, is not a scientific statement no matter how valid and reliable the instruments were by means of which it was derived. Nor is a measure of a historic trend or a diagnostic inference. The clinical diagnosis of a patient's condition as arterio-sclerosis with specified complications may have been derived by bringing to bear on his case diagnostic techniques of proven reliability. The probability that the diagnosis is correct may approach certainty, and it is unquestionably of great practical importance to him, his wife, and his physician, but it has no scientific interest whatever and no place in a textbook on physiology. Yet sociological textbooks and journals are replete with reports of research findings of corresponding character.

Those who hold this assumption that science is technique, in either its general or its specific form, tend naturally to be chiefly or exclusively preoccupied with improvements in technique. They not only tend to select problems which provide opportunities to use preferred techniques or to devise and

test new ones; they may also reshape a problem undertaken for other purposes in order that it may better serve their own technical interest. In any event, they tend to neglect sociological theory, in general or in any of its specific segments, and to become more or less exclusive students of methods and techniques. The development of a theory of public opinion and public behavior, to cite a specific example, gives way to the perfection of a theory of sampling. A year ago, in the first conference of public opinion research personnel, only one or two out of more than thirty prepared contributions presented any research findings about public opinion *per se*; all the others were devoted to sampling methods, questionnaire construction, and other technical and procedural problems.

3. The assumption that a scientific research project aims to derive a generalization that fits a concrete empirical universe, or that the research is ended when such a generalization is derived. In our statistical studies we frequently assume that our job is done when we have computed rates, measures of trend, measures of central tendency, coefficients of correlation, etc., describing the behavior of some variables—births, deaths, opinions, or attitudes—in a representative sample of people. Findings at this stage of the inquiry may have great practical utility. They may enable us to reduce to a minimum the risk involved in writing life insurance or enable us to forecast the size of the future population, the outcome of an election, or the market for funeral goods and undertakers' services. They may even have some crude predictive value since they would make it possible to calculate the chances that an individual having certain known characteristics, such as type of home background, will become a criminal. From an administrative standpoint they are frequently sufficient so that research need be carried no further.

But from a scientific standpoint, these findings are preliminary; they are significant because they point to possibilities of further study. Frequency distributions are not used as imaginatively as they could be for the purpose of locating instances that could

profitably be studied intensively. Moreover, by picking up clues from our initial statistical findings we might be able progressively to restrict the universe from which samples are drawn, thus getting closer approximations of the abstract situations to which strictly scientific generalizations always relate. The difference between the crude initial sort of statistical generalization and a generalization of scientific sort can be easily illustrated by a hypothetical illustration. If we had a frequency distribution of observed instances of freely falling bodies with time as the variable and distance held constant, the extreme instance at the low end of the time axis would more nearly approximate the instance described by the law of falling bodies ($S = \frac{1}{2}Gt^2$) than would the mean, median, or modal instance. The law of falling bodies describes an instance that lies clear outside the frequency distribution.

These are but three of many commonplace assumptions that operate as extra-scientific factors in the selection of research methods and procedures.

Since, when our attention is called to the fact that we ourselves are addicted to any one of these biasing assumptions, we react defensively by trying to defend the assumption on logical grounds, it may help us to achieve a more nearly objective attitude toward them if we realize that our addiction to them is a result of our own differential participation in systems of social interaction generally, and of the historic sociological movement in particular. Our tendencies as research students to select or reject statistical or other modes of analysis and generalization, the nominalistic or realistic conception of the nature of social reality, abstract as opposed to concrete conceptions of sociological knowledge, or sympathetic introspection as opposed to the observations of the external aspects of behavior are, in large degree, resultants of our selective contacts and relations with any one of several sectarian or factional developments in the concrete sociological enterprise. Usually they reveal our student or other affiliations and indentifications in the field of sociology. It makes a great deal of difference in these and other

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respects whether we studied under, or have otherwise been affiliated with, MacIver, Park, Chapin, Ogburn, Lundberg, Young, Blumer, Reuter, or any one or more of dozens of other scholars. Unless we appreciate this fact we stand little chance of lifting the discussion of methodology and research procedures from the sentimental to the critical level. In the meantime, sociology will continue to

be split into sects and factions that may ultimately harden into denominations and parties, the production of our researches will continue to be a heterogeneous mass of discrete inferences scarcely susceptible of systemization, and the ratio of research effort to useful results will continue to be exceedingly high in both the theoretical and the practical realms.

THE NEGRO IN MADISON, WISCONSIN*¹

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SINCE 1890 Madison, Wisconsin has shown a striking sameness in the ratio of Negro to total population, which has always been less than one per cent. The rate of growth of the Negro population has fluctuated less in Madison than in any of the other five Wisconsin cities which in 1940 had a total population of over 10,000 and a Negro population of over 100. This very low and stable ratio of Negroes in Madison seems to be related to differences in employment opportunities, the other five cities referred to being much more industrial than Madison. Industrial areas are more sensitive to economic conditions, and policies of employing Negroes in industry change rapidly.

Whatever the causes, the few Negroes and the stable ratio of Negroes to Whites in Madison over a long period are generally considered important assets in race relations. It means that for over half a century Madison has not been subjected to large influxes of Negroes and uncomfortable changes in race composition. By contrast, in Beloit, Wisconsin, Negroes increased nine-fold in the decade 1910 to 1920, and relations deteriorated rapidly there. Today, Beloit

is regarded by Negroes as a strictly "Jim Crow" town, whereas Madison has the reputation of being the most congenial of Wisconsin cities. These characteristics cannot be attributed solely to differences in the Negro ratio, but the small proportion of Negroes and its constancy apparently provide a setting in which the less violent forms of race adjustment are more likely to flourish. For these reasons, and because Madison is a Northern city and the seat of a great liberal state university, one would expect this city to furnish an example of unusually favorable long-term racial adjustments.

Even though Madison is more congenial to Negroes than are other cities of Wisconsin, it appears at once that there are limits to the congeniality there also. The first negative hints are found in the data on Negro births, deaths, migration, and transiency. For the decades 1920, 1930 and 1940, the crude rates of increase (crude birth rate minus crude death rate) were -8.9, -1.2, and 0.0 per 1,000 respectively for the Madison Negro, compared with 10.4, 9.8, and 10.3 for the Madison White. These unusual indices are not the result of a low fertility of Negroes, since the ratios of children under 5 per 1,000 females age 15 to 49 for the same years were 216, 360, and 253 respectively for the Madison Negro, and 289, 271, and 206 for the Madison White. Furthermore, the low rate of natural

* Manuscript received July 20, 1947.

¹ This study was supported in part by the Research Committee of the Graduate School of the University of Wisconsin from special funds voted by the State Legislature.

increase of Madison Negroes cannot be attributed to an unusual age distribution. It appears rather that the unusual vital rates are due to the extreme transiency of the Madison Negro. Table 1 indicates more directly the extent of transiency. Whereas net in-migration of Whites constituted 66 per cent of the growth of the Madison White population between 1910-1939, net in-migration of Negroes constituted 111 per cent of the growth of the Madison Negro popu-

TABLE 1. ANALYSIS OF MADISON NEGRO AND WHITE POPULATION GROWTH BETWEEN 1910 AND 1940

Race and Decade	Natural ¹ Increase	Population ² Growth	Estimated ³ Migrants	Migrants as Per Cent of Population Growth
<i>Negro</i>				
1910-19	- 7	116	123	106
1920-29	-14	89	103	116
1930-39	- 3	17	20	118
Total		222	246	111
<i>White</i>				
1910-19	3,535	12,765	9,230	72
1920-29	5,298	19,421	14,123	73
1930-39	5,358	9,561	4,203	44
Total		41,747	27,556	66

¹ Resident births minus resident deaths for the decade.

² Population at one Census minus population at preceding Census.

³ Population growth minus natural increase.

lation for the same period. We have already stated that the Madison Negro population did not differ greatly from the White population in the rate of growth, fertility and age composition, hence the large percentage of in-migrants implies transiency, and transiency depresses the birth rate and inflates the death rate. We found further corroboration in our interviews. For example Mrs. B—, age 60, has lived in Madison longer than any other Negro, and she came in 1905. Thus, the longest that any Negro now alive has lived in Madison is 40 years.²

² Only 36 of the 75 children ever born to Madison Negro females were born in Madison.

This transiency is reflected in other indices as well. Between 1937-1940 there were 3,502 White marriages and one Negro marriage in Madison, a ratio of Negro to White marriages of .0029, whereas the population ratio of Negro to White in Madison is .0054. Transiency is usually associated with indices of disorganization. Compared with Whites, Madison Negroes have twice the proportion of widowed, divorced or separated. For Dane county in the years 1937 to 1940 there were 231 White and 3 Negro illegitimate births, a ratio of Negro to White of .0130, whereas the ratio of Negro births to White births is .0026 for the same period. The arrest rate for drunkenness and disorderly conduct per 1,000 males per year for the period 1939-1944 is 93 for Negro and 39 for White.

Why has the Madison Negro population been so transient? Negroes themselves claim that inadequate housing and lack of jobs are the reasons, but transiency may, of course, be as much a cause as a result of inadequate housing and jobs. It can, however, be shown that housing and jobs available to Negroes in Madison continue to be very inferior to those available to Whites. Eighty per cent of the Negro families live in blocks where the average rent is under \$30, whereas only 18 per cent of the Whites live in such blocks. This is in part the result of compulsory Negro segregation, since there are restrictive racial zoning covenants in Madison. In the 1940 Census the median gross rent was found to be \$42.80 for Whites and \$31.50 for Negroes.

Occupational data reveal even greater differences. The percentage of employed males age 14 and over engaged as operatives or in domestic service is 51 for Negro males and 9 for White males, while for females the percentages are 83 for Negro and 19 for White. An unpublished study by Miss A. Ujvary in 1943 of employment policies of the large firms in Madison revealed that department stores and utilities then hired Negroes only as porters and maids; foundries and heavy industries did not hire Negroes at all; and only two light industries plus a packing house and a railroad hired Negroes as regular laborers in any numbers. This

survey did not show much change from a similar survey made in 1927³ which found that 9 out of 42 firms openly refused to employ Negroes and only 2 actually employed Negroes. Thus the possibility of Madison Negroes being employed in industry or trade has been severely limited. One reason is a matter of employment policy. Some firms have claimed that their workers would not like Negroes as co-workers, others that Negroes never apply for jobs. The fundamental reason, however, seems to be that the amount of Madison industry is so small that the recruitment of colored or outside labor is rarely necessary.⁴ It is understandable that Madison firms should have a preference for White and local labor as long as it can be obtained.

It seems likely that the economic restrictions and limitations under which Negroes in Madison have existed will continue much as before. It is therefore pertinent to inquire into the adaptation of the Negro to these conditions, and the possibilities of a gradual improvement with time, persistence, and change of the Negro character and the White mores.

According to the Census there existed in 1940 a considerable difference in employment status between Madison Nonwhite (predominantly Negro) and White, there being an excess of Negro males on "public emergency work," and of Negro females "seeking work." It appears that as late as 1940 relatively more Negroes were suffering from unemployment than Whites. By 1943 all Negroes were employed, but Negro males were still disproportionately concentrated in the Domestic and Service occupations, and Negro females in the Domestic category. Even the War did not widen the occupational distribution of Negroes, at least up to 1943. (Table 2).⁵

³ Kroner and Scandrett, *Industrial Survey of Madison*, unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1927, p. 14.

⁴ Many Madison firms employed Negroes for the first time during the last war. However, it was merely a temporary measure. The Madison Negro gained little.

⁵ In this study we employ the 10 per cent level of significance for Chi Square as a more satis-

In the matter of education we also find a real difference.⁶ There were excesses of Negro males with less than eighth grade education and of Negro females with high school training, and deficits of both sexes who attended college. (Table 3.) The Madison Negro has unquestionably been severely restricted in job opportunity, but

TABLE 2. OCCUPATION DISTRIBUTION OF MADISON NEGROES IN 1943¹ COMPARED WITH OCCUPATION EXPECTED ON THE BASIS OF OCCUPATION DISTRIBUTION OF MADISON WHITES, 1940,² BY SEX

Sex and Occupation	Negro	Expected	Difference	χ^2
<i>Male</i>				
Professional	9	13.1	-4.1	1.28
Proprietors	3	12.3	-9.3	7.02
Clerical	5	19.2	-14.2	10.50
Craftsmen	9	15.8	-6.8	2.92
Operatives	11	12.2	-1.2	.12
Domestic & Service	44	8.1	35.9	159.00
Labor	5	5.3	-.3	.02
Totals	86	86.0		180.86*
<i>Female</i>				
Professional & Proprietors	4	13.6	-9.6	6.77
Clerical	0	27.1	-27.1	27.10
Craftsmen, Labor & Operatives	12	5.4	6.6	8.05
Domestic	43	8.0	35.0	153.00
Service	6	10.9	-4.9	2.20
Totals	65	65.0		197.12*

¹ From our survey of the Madison Negro.

² U. S. Census 1940, *Population II*, Wisconsin, Table 33.

his lag in education appears to be merely a consequence of the recent large in-migration of Negroes from areas where education is low for Negro and White alike.⁷

factory indicator for our purposes. Strictly speaking, the use of Chi Square under our conditions is not above reproach, but we regard it as sufficiently valid and a useful safeguard. A significant Chi Square is denoted by an asterisk.*

⁶ Real differences are differences too great to be attributed to chance.

⁷ The relationship between years lived in Madison and region of birth (North, South) yields a significant Chi Square, showing that the larger proportion of recent Negro arrivals in Madison were born in the South.

There is little or no association between education and personal welfare among Madison Negroes, on the basis of the evidence provided by our survey. In Table 4 we see that educational level has had no demon-

TABLE 3. EDUCATION AND EXPECTED¹ EDUCATION OF THE 1943 NEGRO POPULATION 20 YEARS OLD AND OVER BY SEX

Sex and Grade	Negro	Expected	Difference	χ^2
<i>Male</i>				
Under 8	26	10.6	15.4	22.32
8	15	24.3	- 9.3	3.57
9-11	20	13.0	7.0	3.77
12	24	22.3	1.7	.13
13-15	9	14.7	- 5.7	2.19
16 and over	9	18.1	- 9.1	6.56
Totals	103	103.0		36.54*
<i>Female</i>				
Under 8	16	9.5	6.5	4.37
8	21	25.1	- 4.1	.07
9-11	29	13.2	15.8	18.95
12	34	33.2	.8	.02
13-15	6	16.8	-10.8	6.93
16 and over	5	13.2	- 8.2	5.05
Totals	111	111.0		35.99*

¹ Expected on basis of 1940 total Madison population age 20 and over from Table 19, *Population IV*, Wisconsin, U. S. Census, 1940.

strable effect upon (1) whether or not a Negro has been on relief, (2) number of children ever born to Negro females over 50, (3) type of Negro occupation, or (4) level of Negro income.

Education is not unrelated to all aspects of Negro life, however. We do get a significant association between the level of education and an index of cultural activity.⁸ We also find a tendency for the better educated Negroes to be home owners, to vote, to have more contact with Whites, and to complain of difficulties in renting or buying property. Education apparently does not lead

* The index is simply the number of the following activities in which a Negro engages: A. Reading books B. Reading magazines C. Reading newspapers D. Listening to radio E. Attending movies F. Attending musical performances G. Visiting art exhibits.

to more complaints of economic and social discrimination.

Negro males who have lived in Madison more than half of their life tend to have a better education. But we already know that there has been a shift from North to South in the source of Negro migration to Madison, and that educational level is correlated with place of birth. Hence the evidence is inconclusive as to whether or not

TABLE 4. MADISON NEGRO MALES BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL AND BY WEEKLY INCOME, OCCUPATION, AND RELIEF; AND FEMALES BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL AND BY RELIEF AND NUMBER OF CHILDREN EVER BORN

Sex and Category	Education in Grades		χ^2
	0 to 11	12 & Over	
<i>Male</i>			
Weekly income in dollars:			
15-39	36	19	
40 & over	13	10	.6
Occupation			
Domestic, Service or Labor	28	18	
Other	22	12	.1
Ever on Relief:			
Yes	11	6	
No	45	26	.1
<i>Female</i>			
Ever on Relief:			
Yes	11	3	
No	27	12	.2
Number children ever born			
None	7	2	
1 or more	18	5	.0

the educational level of Negroes has risen as a result of residence in Madison.

With regard to education, then, our data indicate that its gross effect on the welfare and status of Madison Negroes has been small, and its increase over time negligible—at least sufficiently small and negligible to require larger samples, clearer definitions and the holding constant of more factors before its true influence can be detected.

Education is not a complete measure of self-improvement, which is highly individual and difficult to define; but we have another crude measure of self-improvement in our aforementioned cultural activity index. There

is a slight tendency for females who have lived more than half of their life in Madison to participate in more cultural activities, but the interpretation is obscured by the fact that no such relation exists for the males.

We shall now further test the main hypothesis that improvement in Negro welfare is proportional to the length of residence in Madison. The next factor we shall consider is occupation. In Table 5 we see that an increase in proportion of life spent in Madison, if it does anything, accompanies a decline in the proportion of males in the better ("Other") occupations. If we omit

ownership, but it should be kept in mind that those who have lived in Madison less than half their life are by definition transient and hence not likely to own homes. This correlation may really show merely that home ownership is related to permanence of residence and not necessarily to residence in Madison.

When we consider the more voluntary types of behavior, we expect to find evidence bearing more directly upon the influence of residence in Madison—because, theoretically, voluntary behavior, such as voting, opinion regarding treatment, and contact with Whites, arises more directly from the present

TABLE 5. NEGRO MALES BY PROPORTION OF LIFE LIVED IN MADISON, BY OCCUPATION

Occupation	Proportion of Life in Madison	
	Less than $\frac{1}{2}$	More than $\frac{1}{2}$
Service & Labor	24	23
Other	24	13
$\chi^2 = 1.6$		

males who have lived in Madison less than five years on the ground that they have not yet achieved job stability, the result is still more striking. Offhand, this result might be taken as evidence that life in Madison has a deleterious effect upon job advance for Negroes. But this need not follow. Those who have lived in Madison less than half of their life are somewhat younger, and more likely to be newcomers. However, the important point is that no clear trend is indicated. Thus, we have not proved that the proportion of life spent in Madison is associated with advance or decline in type of job. This conclusion is corroborated by what we find for females. Length of residence in Madison does not decrease the proportion of Negro women who find it necessary or profitable to work. When we inspect income of males, we find a similar result. (Table 6). Income does not increase with length of residence in Madison. In the case of home ownership we find a positive correlation between length of residence and

TABLE 6. NEGRO MALES BY PROPORTION OF LIFE LIVED IN MADISON, BY WEEKLY INCOME (INCLUDING MAINTENANCE)

Weekly Income	Proportion of Life in Madison	
	Less than $\frac{1}{2}$	More than $\frac{1}{2}$
Under \$30	28	12
\$30 & over	26	14
$\chi^2 = 0.1$		

situation and is probably less entangled with origins and other background differences. In Table 7 there is given the Madison Negro voting behavior in the 1940 local and national elections. For both male and female, residence in Madison apparently had no effect on the proportion voting. The test, however, is not very sensitive. The great majority claimed they did vote, and the inclusion of a national election may have obscured differences in local election behavior. But we have enough evidence in several interviews of the general apathy of Negroes in local elections to lead us to suspect that the results of Table 7 are not too far from the truth concerning the influence of residence in Madison upon voting behavior.

There seems to be, among males, a tendency for the longer resident to complain of housing difficulty or discrimination, whereas, among females, there is no such disposition. This sex difference was found in interviews also.

TABLE 7. NEGROES IN MADISON 5 YEARS OR MORE BY PROPORTION OF LIFE IN MADISON BY SEX, AND WHETHER OR NOT THEY VOTED IN THE 1940 LOCAL AND NATIONAL ELECTIONS

Sex and Voting Behavior	Proportion of Life in Madison	
	Less than $\frac{1}{2}$	More than $\frac{1}{2}$
<i>Male</i>		
Vote	33	24
Not vote	2	3
	$\chi^2 = 0.5$	
<i>Female</i>		
Vote	38	23
Not vote	12	8
	$\chi^2 = 0.0$	

More evidence that there is little real assimilation of the Negro in Madison is given in Table 8. There appears to be no increase in contact of Negroes with Whites with length of residence in Madison.

In general, then, we may conclude that length of residence in Madison is not related to change in Negro welfare and characteristics, insofar as we have succeeded in measuring them.

Contact with Whites is so crucial for assimilation, however, that we shall consider it in more detail. The term "contact with

TABLE 8. NEGROES BY PROPORTION OF LIFE IN MADISON, BY SEX AND WHETHER OR NOT THEY HAVE SOME FRIENDLY CONTACT WITH WHITES

Contact with Whites	Proportion of Life in Madison	
	Less than $\frac{1}{2}$	More than $\frac{1}{2}$
<i>Male</i>		
Some	22	13
None	36	15
	$\chi^2 = 0.5$	
<i>Female</i>		
Some	31	14
None	49	24
	$\chi^2 = 0.1$	

Whites" as used here includes visiting with Whites in Negro or White homes and/or membership in some mixed organization. Thirty-seven per cent of the 221 adult Negroes in the survey reported some such

contact with Whites. If only visiting is used as the criterion, the percentage drops to twenty-three. However, out of the 40 families with children, 17 (42.5 per cent) reported their children visiting with White children. This higher ratio of contact among children ordinarily is taken as a sign favorable to eventual assimilation. The visiting among children is mutual. Practically all Negro children who visit White children receive

TABLE 9. MADISON NEGROES BY AMOUNT OF CONTACT WITH WHITES, BY OCCUPATION, BY EDUCATION, BY CULTURAL ACTIVITY, BY VOTING BEHAVIOR AND BY COMPLAINT OF DISCRIMINATION FOR MALES; AND BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS, BY CULTURAL ACTIVITY AND BY HOME TENURE FOR FEMALES

Sex and Category	Contact with Whites		χ^2
	Some	None	
<i>Male</i>			
Occupation:			
Service & Labor	15	32	
Other	21	15	4.8*
Education:			
Grade 11 & over	20	12	
10 & under	15	38	8.3*
Culture index:			
4-7	23	11	
0-3	16	34	9.0*
Voting:			
Yes	30	38	
No	2	14	4.2*
Complaint of discrimination:			
Yes	8	3	
No	25	46	4.1*
<i>Female</i>			
Employment status:			
Housewife	28	27	
Employed	18	47	4.2*
Culture index:			
4-7	33	32	
0-3	10	36	8.4*
Home tenure:			
Own	22	20	
Rent	23	54	5.0*

visits from White children. Also, interracial contact of children is associated with interracial contact of parents. These interracial contacts of children show some class differentials. A higher ratio of contact exists among Negro children whose parents are

employed in the better occupations; and a higher ratio of contact exists in residential areas where Negroes are the least concentrated. If the tenor of our interviews is to be taken seriously, however, childhood contacts with Whites probably affect the course of Negro adult life very little. Some Negroes claim that while there is much contact between White and Negro up through high school, after high school Negroes lose their White friends. This would explain why childhood contacts with Whites do not lead to more White contacts among the long resident. The effect of childhood contacts largely disappears at adulthood.

The contact of Negro adults with Whites is not, however, as entirely fortuitous as the conclusions above may appear to imply. In

Table 9 we see that, for males, those who have some contact with Whites are more likely to have better jobs, better education, and higher cultural activity scores, and are more likely to vote. For females, those who have some contact with Whites are more likely to be housewives, to have higher cultural activity scores and to own their homes.

In summary, then, although the number of Negroes in the city of Madison is very small and their ratio to Whites has scarcely changed in 50 years, the Negro population remains highly transient because of meager economic opportunities. Relative freedom from "Jim Crowism" has not resulted in observable assimilation or progress. Length of residence in Madison shows little correlation with welfare.

DIFFERENCES IN VIRGINIA DEATH RATES BY COLOR, SEX, AGE AND RURAL OR URBAN RESIDENCE*

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RECENT developments in the study of vital statistics have made the factors involved in rates of death a little more apparent. Certain hypotheses have been given additional support by the new evidence available, while other generally accepted ideas are coming under the shadow of doubt. The purpose of this paper is to present some findings on this "matter of life and death" for Virginia.

A death rate is a ratio of a number of deaths, occurring in a specified period, to a given population subject to the risk of such death. In practice, there are difficulties in obtaining accurate data and in defining their use. Incomplete registration of death, misstatement of age, underenumeration of population, and limitations in classification are a few of the obstinate problems encountered in the data. In definition there is difficulty in deciding how to allocate deaths to the population subject to the risk of them;

whether to relate the deaths for a stated period to the population at the beginning of the period (before the event of death) or to the number in the middle of the period; whether to make corrections in the raw data or take them as they are reported; etc. Giving a brief description of methods actually employed in this study may be the best way to clarify the definitions used and to indicate some of the limitations of the data. For the most part well established conventions have been followed.

DESCRIPTION OF METHODS

Special tabulations by place of residence of the decedent were obtained from the Virginia Bureau of Vital Statistics for the years 1939 and 1940. These tabulations were classified by color, sex, rural or urban residence and grouped by age in five-year intervals. No correction for underregistration was used.

The figures on deaths for 1939 and 1940

* Manuscript received June 27, 1947.

were combined to get a two year average. This is generally done to overcome partially the handicap of low frequencies in some groups. The "deaths per year" used as the numerator in calculating the rate for a group was therefore an average of two years mortality experience. (Table 1 shows the

as percentages of the total deaths in the corresponding group of the county.

- (2) These percentages were assumed to apply to 1939 and equivalent numbers of deaths were allocated to each urban place in that year.

The population used as the denominator

TABLE 1. VIRGINIA DEATHS BY AGE, SEX, COLOR AND COMMUNITY CLASS, BY PLACE OF RESIDENCE: 1939 PLUS 1940

Age	White				Colored			
	Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
0-4	2,067	1,571	693	522	1,128	961	505	454
5-9	165	132	49	31	74	68	35	24
10-14	142	98	50	18	102	89	42	32
15-19	311	213	77	54	202	186	97	120
20-24	428	214	110	101	239	256	154	144
25-29	361	228	145	115	296	209	175	199
30-34	375	251	188	129	242	170	229	190
35-39	425	284	252	161	282	237	251	220
40-44	466	271	289	204	350	293	288	284
45-49	552	372	450	233	434	309	353	314
50-54	698	486	537	316	565	425	431	407
55-59	914	548	668	415	564	441	390	362
60-64	1,154	824	801	503	603	493	355	383
65-69	1,409	1,020	875	713	584	422	270	279
70-74	1,530	1,136	729	669	515	344	200	204
75-79	1,364	1,131	618	706	326	244	94	115
80-84	1,140	1,058	396	618	239	178	55	57
85-89	557	592	207	290	130	115	26	22
90-94	166	226	66	120	67	68	7	14
95-99	37	52	9	24	23	28	3	2
100 and over	1	11	2	4	4	21	4	6
Unknown	6	4			10	6	4	2
Total	14,358	10,722	7,211	5,946	6,979	5,563	3,968	3,834

estimated deaths for the two years.) Eight communities in Virginia were urban by Census definition in 1940 which had not been so in 1930. For these, it was necessary to estimate the age distribution of deaths in 1939. The distribution was estimated in this way:

- (1) The 1940 deaths by sex, color, and age group in each urban place were expressed

of the rate was also estimated for the middle of the two year period, i.e., as of January 1, 1940. This was done mainly by linear interpolation. For each group the 1930 population was subtracted from the 1940 population. One-fortieth of this difference was taken as the increase for the three months from January 1, 1940 to the Census date, April 1, 1940. This increase was subtracted from

the 1940 figures to get the estimated January 1, 1940 population. The procedure is summarized by the formula:

$$\left(\begin{array}{c} \text{Population} \\ \text{Jan. 1940} \end{array} \right) = \left(\begin{array}{c} \text{Population} \\ \text{April 1940} \end{array} \right) - \frac{1}{40} \left(\begin{array}{c} \text{Population} \\ \text{April 1940} \end{array} - \begin{array}{c} \text{Population} \\ \text{April 1930} \end{array} \right)$$

The eight places which changed class by Census definition were treated separately by the same method for the total population. Then the age distribution for each place

been used for ages of 35 and over. These were then split into the desired five year groups on the assumption that the five year

groups of January 1, 1940 were in the same ratios as those of April 1, 1940. (Table 2 shows the estimated populations.)

The specific death rates by five year age

TABLE 2. ESTIMATED VIRGINIA POPULATION FOR JANUARY 1, 1940 BY AGE, SEX, COLOR AND RURAL OR URBAN RESIDENCE*

Age	White				Colored			
	Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
0-4	66,775	64,587	24,576	23,361	23,537	23,669	8,838	9,061
5-9	69,226	66,767	23,975	23,566	25,187	25,098	9,743	9,895
10-14	73,185	69,492	26,692	26,718	26,375	25,946	10,609	11,261
15-19	73,342	68,381	32,578	32,233	26,421	24,338	11,064	13,047
20-24	61,569	55,259	35,273	36,842	21,113	18,251	10,733	13,386
25-29	52,688	49,513	35,070	36,428	16,643	14,028	10,444	12,906
30-34	46,686	44,659	31,861	33,038	12,521	10,822	9,068	10,875
35-39	41,607	40,511	27,695	28,534	11,045	10,817	9,058	11,371
40-44	36,637	35,267	23,882	25,018	10,226	10,189	8,379	9,330
45-49	33,886	31,777	20,760	22,062	9,923	9,298	7,034	7,958
50-54	29,720	28,028	17,496	18,718	9,402	8,378	5,778	6,116
55-59	25,267	23,391	13,740	15,278	7,243	6,138	3,919	4,771
60-64	21,432	20,264	10,817	13,004	6,230	5,341	2,932	3,102
65-69	18,263	16,510	8,013	10,153	5,699	4,445	2,513	2,692
70-74	11,612	10,493	5,130	6,694	3,342	2,866	1,323	1,658
75 and over	11,127	11,221	4,429	6,679	3,320	3,330	1,011	1,468
Total	673,022	636,120	341,987	358,326	218,227	202,954	112,446	128,297

* These figures are certainly not significant beyond three digits. The extra digits are carried for convenience in tabulation.

was estimated for January 1, 1940 by assuming the percentage distribution to be the same as that given by the Census for April 1, 1940. These estimates were added to the urban population for January 1, 1940¹ and subtracted from the estimated rural population.

To this point ten year age groups had

¹ The urban population had been calculated on the basis of the 1930 areas. Cape Charles was considered as rural in 1930.

groups were calculated as the final step and are presented in Table 3. These represent average annual resident deaths based on the mortality experience of 1939 and 1940 divided by estimated thousands of population on January 1, 1940. They provided a means of comparing mortality by certain classes of population, but leave as hidden classifications other important qualities such as economic and marital status.

COMPARISONS BY COLOR

Colored or nonwhite death rates are higher than white. It is obvious from Table 3 that there are apparent exceptions to this generalization. The nonwhite urban males in the 65 to 69 age group have an apparent death rate slightly below the urban white males. This may be due to overstatement of age in

and that misstatements are equally divided between overstatements and understatements.² Then the age distribution at older ages may be seriously distorted. Thus an actual population of 2,932 nonwhite urban males 60 to 64 years of age would contribute 366 persons to the age group 65 to 69. About 314 persons in the group of nonwhites

TABLE 3. VIRGINIA DEATH RATES PER 1,000 POPULATION BY RACE, AGE, SEX, AND PLACE OF RESIDENCE*

Age	White				Colored			
	Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
0-4	15.5	12.2	14.1	11.2	24.1	20.3	28.7	25.1
5-9	1.2	1.0	1.0	.7	1.5	1.4	1.8	1.2
10-14	1.0	.7	.9	.3	1.9	1.7	2.0	1.4
15-19	2.1	1.6	1.2	.8	3.8	3.8	4.4	4.6
20-24	3.5	1.9	1.6	1.4	5.7	7.0	7.2	5.4
25-29	3.4	2.3	2.1	1.6	8.9	7.5	8.4	7.7
30-34	4.0	2.8	3.0	2.0	9.7	7.9	12.6	8.7
35-39	5.1	3.5	4.6	2.8	12.8	11.0	13.9	9.7
40-44	6.4	3.8	6.1	4.1	17.1	14.4	17.2	15.2
45-49	8.1	5.9	10.8	5.3	21.9	16.6	25.1	19.8
50-54	11.7	8.7	15.4	8.4	30.1	25.4	37.3	33.4
55-59	18.1	11.7	24.3	13.6	38.9	36.2	49.8	43.4
60-64	26.9	20.3	37.0	19.3	48.4	46.3	60.5	61.7
65-69	41.0	30.9	54.6	35.1	51.4	47.5	53.7	51.8
70-74	66.0	54.3	71.1	50.0	77.1	60.2	76.0	61.5
75 and over	146.8	136.8	146.5	131.9	118.8	98.2	93.5	73.6

* Deaths = (1939 deaths + 1940 deaths) ÷ 2.

Populations estimated for January 1, 1940, by interpolation from Censuses of 1930 and 1940.

1940 which may have been motivated by the Social Security Act and other relief provisions. The population enumerated as of the age 65 to 69 is simply too large. This point will be discussed later.

Perhaps a more interesting exception to the generalization is the evident lower mortality of nonwhites of 75 and over. This too is a doubtful exception. There are unquestionably great errors in statements of age in these groups of very old people. An example may suffice to indicate the possible effect of these misstatements. Assume that the probability of age being stated within the correct five year age group is three-fourths for a nonwhite of 50 years or more

65 to 69 would be included in the next lower age group. This would be a net gain of 52 persons from the younger group. A similar loss of 314 persons to the age group 70 to 74 would be partly compensated by a contribution of 165 persons from an actual population of 1,323 nonwhite urban males or a net loss of 149 younger persons to the older group. This systematic error would mean that the Census populations in the high age groups are slightly younger than they

² Some basis for these assumptions is given by Paul M. Densen in "Family Studies in the Eastern Health District: II. The Accuracy of Statements of Age on Census Records," *The American Journal of Hygiene*, XXXII, No. 1, Sec. A. (1940), 1-38.

are stated to be. If the same thing is true of ages stated on death certificates, then the comparison of two classes with wide differences in degree of misstatement of age is a comparison of a younger group with an older one.

A Texas study resulted in an indication of lower death rates for rural nonwhites under five than for the whites.³ This was attributed to nonregistration of deaths in rural Texas, though it may have been greatly affected by the distribution of rural population. Virginia has been in the registration area much longer and has better death registration. Consequently, the nonwhites do not have lower death rates than whites for children under five.

Where nonwhites appear to have lower death rates than whites there are known biases in the data which tend to produce just that result. "It is open to question whether the lower mortality above 75 [among colored] is a genuine phenomenon due to the elimination, below that age, of a greater proportion of persons of lower vitality, or whether it is partly or wholly the result of overstatement of age in the Census by aged nonwhites."⁴ Probably the elimination of persons of lower vitality is more complete among nonwhites, but the importance of misstatements of age seems much greater, so that the favorable nonwhite death rates at advanced ages would be likely to vanish if accurate age reporting were achieved. Therefore, we favor this hypothesis, "The real death rates of nonwhites are higher than those of whites at all ages." But, it should never be forgotten that nonwhite connotes differences in economic status, caste, marital status, and other attributes.

COMPARISONS BY AGE

The minima of the nonwhite death rates occur at earlier ages and are considerably

higher than those of whites. Five year age specific death rates do not show this as clearly as narrower age bands would. Enumeration should be fairly good at ages of 5 to 14 and statements of age very accurate. Death registration, particularly for rural Negroes, may be poor in some cases. Death rates are very low for children of school age, which means that death frequencies are too small to permit very elaborate classification (See Table 1). The class of Virginia white urban females had only eighteen deaths for the age group 10 to 14 years in 1939 and 1940. This is the most extreme group, but it is apparent that further classification of these eighteen deaths (by size of city for example) might produce some peculiar results, because of the very small death frequencies.

The distortion of the population figures by the hope of securing old age assistance is best shown in the urban nonwhite groups of age 65 to 69. Both males and females have lower death rates at 65 to 69 than at 60 to 64. The rural nonwhites were also sufficiently influenced so that their age specific death rate charts are inflected at these ages. Theoretically, after reaching a minimum in childhood the death risk should increase with increasing age so as to produce a curve of death rates which is concave upward throughout adult life.⁵ Generally speaking, the white death rates do this while the nonwhite death rates zigzag when plotted on a chart (See Charts 1 and 2) giving evidence of misstatement of age, poor allocation of deaths, etc. When deaths are not subject to irregular variation due to epidemic, war, revolutionary new medical arts, etc., they provide a basis for correcting the population figures. Estimates of the nonwhite population better than those given by the 1940 Census might be derived by such means.

We have pointed out above that survival ratios are low at advanced ages and that this makes the inaccuracies of age reporting,

³ J. Lambert Molyneux, "Differential Mortality in Texas," *American Sociological Review*, X, No. 1, (1945), 17-25.

⁴ "United States Life Tables: 1930-1939 (Preliminary)," Washington: Bureau of the Census, July 21, 1941, p. 3.

⁵ But, perhaps we should not close our minds altogether to the possibility of other minima, or points of inflection.

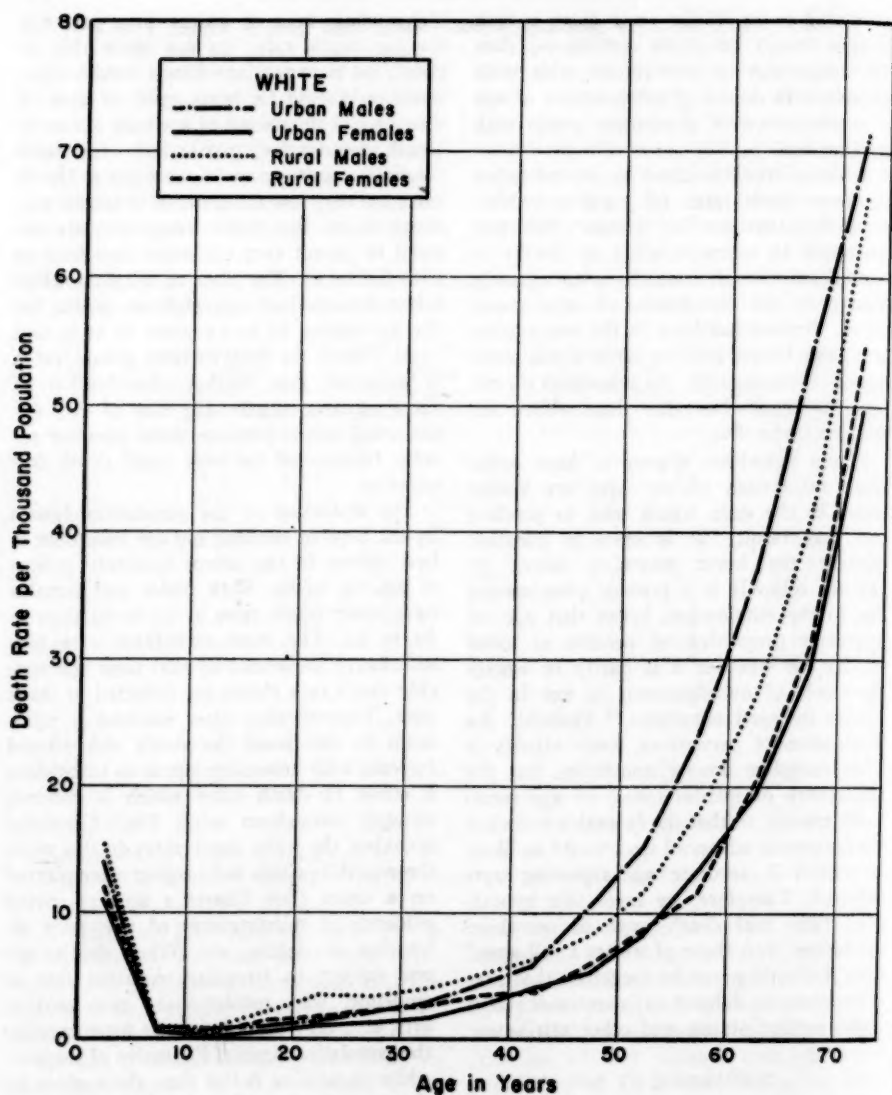


CHART 1. Virginia White Age Specific Death Rates by Sex and Rural or Urban Residence.

which are characteristic of nonwhite populations, much more important. This factor is probably more important than any other in holding down the apparent death rates of nonwhites of advanced age.

The discussion of age differences in infancy and early childhood is left to the section on residence differences because residence groups, rather than age groups, provide the most significant comparisons.

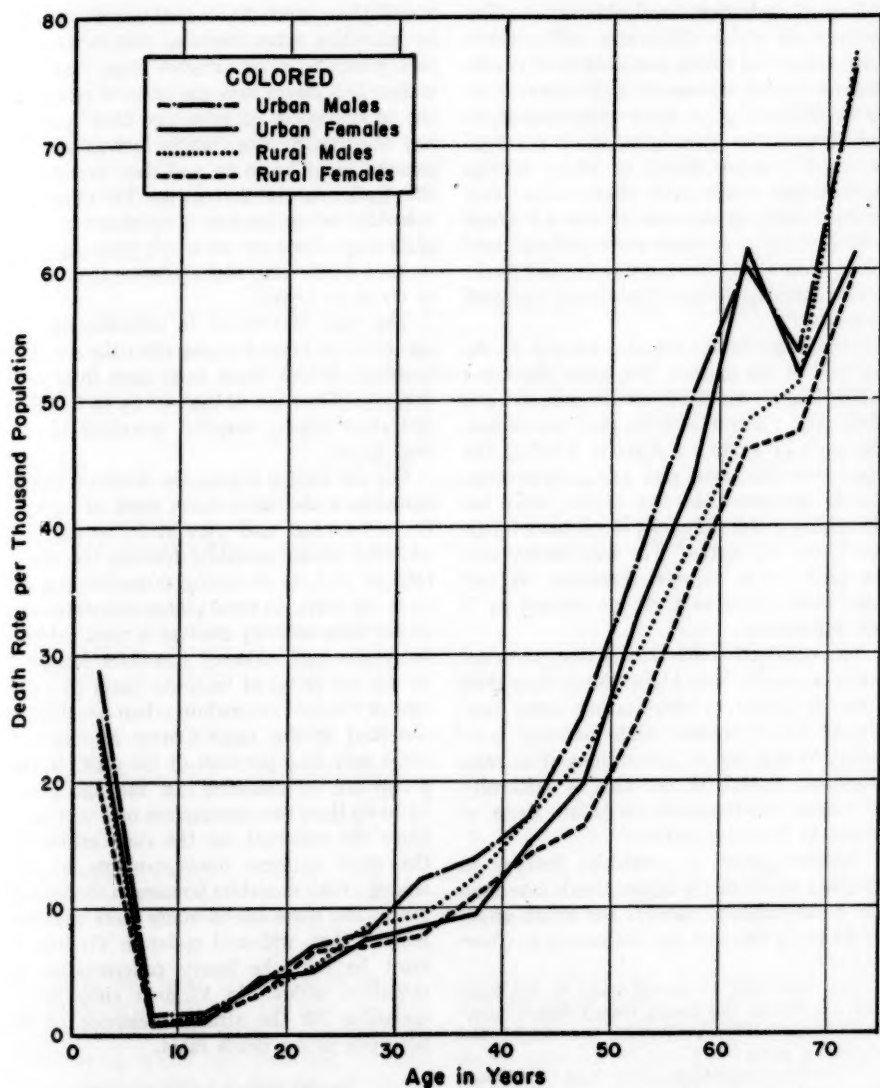


CHART 2. Virginia Colored Age Specific Death Rates by Sex and Rural or Urban Residence.

COMPARISONS BY SEX

Females have lower death rates than males. There are no exceptions to this rule for whites as far as the specific death rates by five year age groups in Virginia are con-

cerned. In the case of the nonwhites of 15 to 19 years and of 20 to 24 years in rural places the females have death rates equal to or greater than the males. This is due to high fertility combined with adverse con-

ditions of sanitation, medical care, etc. The analysis of these differences will require further detailed study, particularly of deaths due to causes connected with tuberculosis and childbearing. A more refined analysis would probably show that there are ages at which certain classes of white females have higher death rates than males. This is most likely in the case of married urban whites of 15 to 19 years among whom there are a great many women having first births before reaching the age of minimum maternal mortality.⁶

Illegitimate births are also adverse to the survival of the mother. The nonwhites have much higher numbers of illegitimate live births per 1,000 live births than the whites. For girls of 15 to 19 years in Virginia the 1943 nonwhite rate was 415.4 illegitimate live births per 1,000 live births, while for the whites it was only 66.5 illegitimate births per 1,000 live births.⁷ The illegitimacy rate for girls 15 to 19 was, therefore, six and one-fourth times as high for colored as it was for whites.

The qualified conclusion is that when females appear to have higher death rates than males it is due to childbearing under conditions which produce high maternal mortality. Wider use of the sulfonamides may eliminate enough of the risk of maternity to reduce all female rates below those of males in the near future.⁸

Another group of nonwhite females in Virginia which has a higher death rate than the corresponding males is the urban group of 60 to 64 years of age. Reference to Chart

2 will show that the overstatement of age by nonwhite urban females who belong to this group is more extreme than that for males. This would have the effect of reducing the population of 60 to 64 and thus increasing the death rate, while increasing the population of 65 to 69 and thus decreasing the death rate for that group. The effect on nonwhite urban females is so severe in Virginia that those of 70 to 74 years appear to have death rates slightly lower than those of 60 to 64 years!

The race differential in misstatement of age is much more extreme than the sex differential. White death rates give little evidence of distortion at ages of 65 to 69. The distortion among married nonwhite is not very great.

For the United States, the divorced urban nonwhite males have death rates of 85.8 at 60 to 64 years and 75.7 at 65 to 69. For widowed urban nonwhite females the death rate of 51.1 at 60 to 64 drops to 45.9 at 65 to 69 years. In rural places overstatement of age from security motives is most evident for single and widowed nonwhite females.⁹ In the age group of 60 to 64 years 55.5 per cent of Virginia's nonwhite urban females are classified in the 1940 Census as widowed while only 20.9 per cent of the males in the group are so classified. In the age group 65 to 69 these percentages are 66.2 and 26.9. Since the widowed are the class exhibiting the most extreme overstatements of age among urban nonwhite females in the United States and there are so many more widowed females than widowed males in Virginia, it must be that the heavy concentration of nonwhite widows in Virginia cities is responsible for the strange behavior of the nonwhite urban death rates.

COMPARISONS BY RESIDENCE

Since the time of John Graunt (1620-1674) the generalization that the urban is higher than the rural death rate has been almost universally accepted. We have reached

⁶ See "Mortality by Marital Status by Age, Race, and Sex, Urban and Rural, United States, 1940," *Vital Statistics—Special Reports*, Vol. XXIII, No. 2, July 3, 1945.

⁷ The figures quoted are taken from "Illegitimate Live Births by Race, United States, 1943," *Vital Statistics—Special Reports*, Vol. XXI, No. 15, November 15, 1945.

⁸ Puerperal death rates per 10,000 live births for the United States dropped from 37.6 in 1940 to 24.5 in 1943. More than 57¼ per cent of this life saving was from death caused by puerperal septicemia. See "Death From Puerperal Causes by Race and by State, United States, 1943," *Vital Statistics—Special Reports*, Vol. XXI, No. 5, May 8, 1945, p. 88.

⁹ See "Mortality by Marital Status by Age, Race, and Sex, Urban and Rural, United States, 1940," *Vital Statistics—Special Reports*, Vol. XXIII, No. 2, July 3, 1945.

a time when it becomes necessary to qualify this proposition. In the case of Virginia white females, it appears that urban death rates are lower than rural until the menopause. The five year age groups 40 to 44, 55 to 59, and 65 to 69, show higher death rates for urban than for rural white females but all other ages show an advantage for the urban places. The urban white males also appear to have better mortality experi-

lower death rates in urban places. Nonwhite males 25 to 29, and 70 or over, have lower death rates in urban places. There are also significant differences in economic and marital status which might reduce the differences between urban and rural rates in other age groups.

Table 3 shows that the colored under five years of age have higher death rates in urban than in rural places. Deaths under

TABLE 4. VIRGINIA SPECIFIC DEATH RATES BY AGE, RACE, AND POPULATION-SIZE GROUPS, BY PLACE OF RESIDENCE: 1940*
(Exclusive of stillbirths. Rates are the number of deaths in a specified group per 1,000 population of that group, enumerated as of April 1, 1940)

Age	White				All Other			
	Rural	2,500- 10,000	Cities of 10,000- 100,000	100,000 or more	Rural	2,500- 10,000	Cities of 10,000- 100,000	100,000 or More
All ages	9.2	11.5	9.9	10.4	14.8	18.8	17.3	16.0
Under 1 year	64.1	70.5	52.9	53.4	100.8	137.9	125.3	113.3
1-4	2.9	3.3	2.6	2.8	4.7	4.5	4.2	5.5
5-14	0.9	1.1	0.6	0.9	1.7	1.6	1.7	1.4
15-24	2.0	2.0	1.6	1.6	4.7	5.9	5.5	6.4
25-34	2.8	3.1	2.3	2.1	7.7	9.2	9.3	9.0
35-44	4.3	4.8	4.4	4.5	12.7	17.3	13.7	12.3
45-54	8.1	12.2	10.9	9.9	22.7	28.2	29.9	31.4
55-64	18.6	24.9	23.7	22.6	42.7	59.2	54.2	50.0
65-74	44.1	61.7	55.4	53.9	58.3	66.2	65.7	62.7
75-84	118.3	150.7	126.8	130.5	99.7	97.1	109.6	57.9
85 and over	261.1	287.1	250.8	290.6	181.4	137.0	109.7	52.6

* From Table VIII.—*Vital Statistics of the United States*, Supplement 1939-1940, Part III, p. 78.

ence than the rural up to about age 45, though not after that age. The ages at which rural whites do seem to have an advantage are those at which age reporting becomes less reliable. It may be that overstatement of age is more common among the rural whites of advanced years and, hence, gives them lower overt death rates, but it would be hard to prove this.

In the case of the nonwhites there are also interesting exceptions to the old rule. Females in the age groups 5 to 9, 10 to 14, 20 to 24, 35 to 39, and 75 and over, have

one year are by far the most important in this age group. Table 4 shows that the death rates for the colored infants are much higher in all sizes of cities. The result is that, no matter how the nonwhite population is distributed in the cities, the rural population has a decided advantage. For the white population under five, the smaller the proportion living in places of 10,000 population or less, the lower the death rates would be. It happens that almost twice as many whites proportionately (24.42%) as colored (12.25%) live in places of 2,500 to 10,000

population. This distribution, which is favorable to lower urban rates for colored is not sufficiently favorable to overcome their higher death rates. The whites, on the contrary, are sufficiently concentrated in urban places above 10,000 population to give them urban death rates under five years which are slightly better than the rural rates.

Nonregistration of death may be of considerable importance in some areas, particularly for nonwhite rural farm infants under one. If so, then the nonwhite rural rates for this group would be affected because 64.4 per cent of the colored rural population under five is farm population as compared to only 52.3 per cent of the white.

The urban colored under five in Virginia have death rates more than twice as high as the urban whites. Since better than one quarter of the State's population is affected by this fact, it is obvious that expectation of life in Virginia could be most quickly increased by a reduction of this difference. The greatest difference under one year exists where the white rate is lowest, in places of 10,000 to 100,000 population. But, some action should also be devised to reduce the rural color differences which involve almost three fourths of the Virginia population.

If sex composition is neglected, rural and urban rates can be compared by means of Table 4 which provides breakdowns by size of city. This table indicates that both whites and nonwhites under one year have their worst mortality experience in cities of 2,500 to 10,000. In Virginia both whites and nonwhites appear to have their best mortality experience in the age group of one to four years in places of 10,000 to 100,000, but the number of deaths is small. Whites in Virginia have their highest death rates in small cities of 2,500 to 10,000 up to 85 years, at which age these places seem to have a slight advantage only over the largest cities. There seem to be no other clear cut patterns. The relationships between these death rates would vary widely in other states, but for the whole United States the higher force of mortality in the smallest urban places holds pretty well through life for nonwhites and up to age 45 for whites.

The comparison of age specific death rates has an important danger in the possibility of over emphasizing differences in rates where only a few deaths are involved. For this reason it is well to glance at the age-adjusted¹⁰ rates given in Table 5. The crude rates range from the best of 8.30 for white urban females to the worst of 17.64 for nonwhite urban males. Age-adjustment inter-

TABLE 5. VIRGINIA CRUDE AND AGE-ADJUSTED DEATH RATES, 1939-1940

	Crude Vir- ginia	Age-Adjusted	
		Virginia Popu- lation Standard	United States Popu- lation Standard
White urban males	10.54	11.04	12.52
White urban females	8.30	7.64	8.67
White rural males	10.67	10.44	11.67
White rural females	8.43	8.13	9.15
Colored urban males	17.64	18.64	20.43
Colored urban females	14.94	16.04	17.58
Colored rural males	15.99	16.80	18.52
Colored rural females	13.71	14.64	16.08

changes the ranks of urban and rural white males, indicating that white urban males have an age distribution very favorable to low crude death rates. Other ranks are not changed by the operation of adjusting for age. The indicated rank order from best mortality experience to worst is white urban females, white rural females, white rural males, white urban males, colored rural females, colored urban females, colored rural males, and colored urban males. The advantage of urban residence for white females is clear, but about 79 per cent of them were living in cities of over 10,000 population in 1940, a residence distribution favorable to

¹⁰ Age-adjusted or standardized rates are theoretical rates computed on certain assumptions. Assuming that the known age specific death rates for a given class are operating on a population with a certain age distribution as standard (Virginia and United States in the present case) there is a given number of deaths which would result. This number divided by the standard population (all ages) gives the age-adjusted death rate.

low death rates. The age distribution of all these classes in Virginia is more favorable to low crude death rates than is that of the United States as a whole. The colored in Virginia also have a favorable age distribution relative to the whole state, and, hence, to the white. Except for the urban males, the whites have age distributions unfavorable to low crude death rates relative to the total population of Virginia.

CONCLUSIONS

For the most part the age specific death rates of Virginia confirm generally accepted ideas on the incidence of deaths. The propositions which follow are therefore mainly restatements of the accepted generalizations. However, no one could make a study of age specific death rates in any individual state without having departures from accepted rules forced upon his attention. That is the source of interest in the work and the reason why the development of thought on the subject is partly dependent on the study of vital phenomena in small geographic areas. The words in which these propositions are stated are not, of course, a substitute for study of the tables. The essence of the matter is the magnitudes of the differences, which can be seen only by comparing the numbers in the death rate tables.

1. Colored death rates are higher than white. Where this appears not to be true it is known that bias exists in the data. It is also known, however, that old persons who have survived bad environments do tend to have better vitality, i.e., that sanitary and medical protection from infection and contagion tend to keep alive more persons susceptible to degenerative disease, so that certain classes of colored have lower death rates from certain causes than the corresponding classes of whites.
2. Colored minimum death rates occur at lower ages than those of whites. Combining these two propositions would give the conclusion that white minima are lower than those for colored,

which is the empirical fact. Minimum death rates occur at ages where there are so few deaths that there can be considerable random error, however.

3. Females have lower death rates than males. Possibly, there would be no exceptions to this rule if allowances were made for deaths from puerperal causes. But, with these deaths included, the young colored women have higher death rates than males.
4. The highest death rates by community class are found in urban places of small size. When sex, as well as race, is considered, it is found that white urban females have a decided advantage in mortality experience. These may be transition phenomena due mainly to the differences in the speed with which sanitary devices are adopted. Low densities of population in small towns and rural areas rule out certain expensive types of water supply, sewage disposal, and medical services. Large urban centers can bear the institutional load of complicated public health services. Sanitary and medical facilities for the colored population usually lag decades behind those for whites. If communities were classified by the presence or absence of approved facilities, it would probably be found that these are the essential attributes rather than size of place. Sanitary practices as now developed are mainly those applicable to large aggregations of population in urban centers.

The practical suggestions for Virginia which may be derived from this research are that special efforts should be made to improve health services in small urban places, that better maternal care should be available in rural places, and that instruction in infant care is badly needed by colored people. Particular efforts should be made to bring colored death rates down nearer to those of whites, for the benefit of the whites as well as the colored, since microbes do not respect caste lines.

HEALTH DIFFERENTIALS FOR RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION*

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ALTHOUGH evidence to support such a thesis is scanty, it is generally believed that rural migrants to urban areas are better physical risks than urban natives. In the popular conception a rural-urban migrant is a healthy young person who helps to renew the vigor of a jaded and physically inferior urban population. Although based on inconclusive data, the few scientific studies of this problem have tended to substantiate the popular conception.¹ The available evidence does lead to the inference that rural-urban migrants are healthier than the resident urban population. For example, Hutchinson's study² indicates that for Stockholm there is a greater risk of dying from tuberculosis for Stockholm-born than for those born elsewhere, principally rural born. Similar findings were reported in Hill's well-known study³ for London.

However, the hypothesis that migrants are the healthier persons is not substantiated in a comparison of rural-urban migrants and urban "natives" based on previously unpublished data of the National Health Survey.⁴ The National Health Survey⁵ covered a

sample of 2,500,000 individuals in 83 cities in the winter of 1935-1936. A total of 85,264 of the individuals in the sample belonged to families which had moved from a farm to the urban area within ten years previous to the survey date. The present study compares the illness rates of these rural-urban migrants with the illness rate of the total urban population covered in the survey.

The sample for the general population appears to be adequate. It is fully discussed in published materials.⁶ At the outset, however, several important qualifications need to be made concerning the adequacy of the "migrant" sample. First, the "migrants" in this study are residual migrants. The sample does not cover all migrants but only those who migrated to surveyed areas within the ten year period, remained in the cities, and survived until the date of the survey. Those rural migrants who returned to a rural area before the date of the survey are not included in the sample. Secondly, the migrant status of all members of family units was determined by that of the head of the family. Thus, necessarily, some persons classified as "migrants" are of urban origin, and some real migrants are not included in the migrant sample. Most of the persons thus "misclassified" are children. The effects of these limitations of the sample will be discussed in connection with the findings.

The index of illness used in this study is

results are based on the data for 81 cities where 2,308,586 persons were enumerated.

*For a discussion of the sample and methodology of the National Health Survey see Perrott, George St. J., Tibbits, Clark and Britten, Rollo H., "The National Health Survey, Scope and Method in the Nation-wide Canvass of Sickness in Relation to its Social and Economic Setting." *Public Health Reports*, LIV, No. 37, September 15, 1939, pp. 1663-1687.

* Manuscript received July 29, 1947.
¹ Cf. statement by Hutchinson cited by Dorothy S. Thomas in *Research Memorandum on Migration Differentials*, Bulletin No. 43, Social Science Research Council, 1938, p. 103.

² *Ibid.*, p. 103.

³ Findings as cited in Sorokin, P. A., and Zimmerman, C. C., *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology*, 1939, Henry Holt, p. 574.

⁴ Made available through the courtesy of the National Institute of Health, United States Public Health Service.

⁵ The principal findings of the National Health Survey have been published in a series of bulletins by the Division of Public Health Methods, National Institute of Health, U. S. Public Health Service, in *Public Health Reports* and in the *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*. Although 83 cities were covered in the Survey, most of the published

the annual frequency of illnesses,⁷ which result in disability lasting one week or longer, per thousand population. This is one of the indices used throughout the published findings of the National Health Survey.

The basic data used to compute the disability rates for the total sample and for the

data do not make it possible to hold constant simultaneously all significant differential characteristics. Therefore, each significant characteristic will be considered separately for its differential effect on the disability rates of the migrants and the non-migrants.

Since it is an established fact that dis-

TABLE 1. NUMBER OF PERSONS AND NUMBER OF CASES OF DISABLING ILLNESS^a FOR TOTAL SAMPLE^b AND FOR MIGRANT SAMPLE^c BY FAMILY INCOME AND RELIEF STATUS

Annual Family Income and Relief Status	Number of Persons		Number of Cases of Disabling Illnesses in 12 Month Period	
	Total Sample	Migrant Sample	Total Sample ^d	Migrant Sample
All Incomes	2,308,586	85,264	397,978	21,169
Relief Families	422,434	28,196	98,988	8,735
Non Relief Families				
Under \$1,000	583,844	31,247	101,320	6,927
\$1,000 to \$2,000	828,886	17,130	128,185	3,730
\$2,000 to \$3,000	247,486	2,603	37,011	520
\$3,000 & over	141,799	875	21,181	173
Unknown	84,137	5,213	11,293	1,084

^a Annual frequency of illnesses disabling for one week or longer, including confinements, hospital cases, and fatal illnesses of all durations.

^b The total sample includes all persons canvassed in 81 cities by the National Health Survey 1935-36.

^c The migrant sample consists of all persons in the total sample who belonged to families which had moved from farms within ten years previous to the date of the survey.

^d Data from Appendix Table 1, p. 7, of the report, "Illness and Medical Care in Relation to Economic Status," National Health Survey, Sickness and Medical Care Series, Bulletin No. 2. The "unknown" classification is not listed in the Appendix Table but was obtained by subtracting all specific income groups from the "All Incomes" group.

migrant subsample are found in Table 1. The computed disability rates are found in Table 2.

The disability rate for the total urban sample is 172. The corresponding rate for the migrant sample is 248. These crude rates indicate that the migrant sample had a far higher disability rate than the non-migrant sample. Before such an interpretation can be accepted, it is necessary to inquire whether the difference in disability rates can be explained by differential characteristics of the two samples, other than that of migrant-non-migrant status. Unfortunately, the available

⁷ Includes confinements, hospital cases, and fatal illnesses of all durations.

ability rates vary inversely with income,⁸ it is possible that the difference found in disability rates might be a result of differential income distribution between migrants and non-migrants. Table 2 shows the disability rate by income class for the total urban sample and for the migrant sample. Within every income class the migrant disability rate is greater than that for the total urban sample. The data in the last column in Table 2 show that the ratios between the migrant

⁸ See "Illness and Medical Care in Relation to Economic Status," Bulletin No. 2, Sickness and Medical Care Series, Division of Public Health Methods, National Institute of Health, United States Public Health Service, Washington, 1938.

and the total sample rates are fairly consistent, as between income classes. To obtain a single rate standardized for income, the migrant disability rates for specific income classes were applied to the income distribution of the total urban sample. If income distribution is not a significant differential affecting the disability differential, then the

still in existence in 1945. This is the only set of age data available for the migrants. Table 3 indicates that the migrants are more concentrated than the total urban group in the age groups with high disability rates. However, this concentration is by no means sufficient to account for the large disability differential between the two groups. Although age-

TABLE 2. DISABLING ILLNESS AS RELATED TO FAMILY INCOME FOR TOTAL SAMPLE AND MIGRANT SAMPLE

Annual Family Income and Relief Status	Frequency Rate		Disability Frequency Rate of Migrant Sample as Ratio of Disability Frequency Rate for Total Sample
	Disabling Illnesses per 1,000 Persons—12 Month Period		
	Migrant Sample	Total Sample ^a	
All Incomes	248	172	144
Relief Families	310	234	132
Non Relief Families			
Under \$1,000	222	174	128
\$1,000 to \$2,000	218	155	141
\$2,000 to \$3,000	200	150	133
\$3,000 and over	198	149	133
Unknown	208	134	155

^a Frequency rates for total sample from Table 1, p. 2, "Illness and Medical Care in Relation to Economic Status," *Sickness and Medical Care Series, Bulletin No. 2*.

standardized disability rate should be close to the crude migrant rate. Actually the rate standardized for income distribution is 232, while the crude migrant rate is 248. The difference is real but relatively small. The standardized rate would be 172, if the difference in migrant and total urban rates were entirely a result of income distribution. This indicates that income differentials can explain only a small part of the health differential between migrants and the total sample.

Age, a second factor closely correlated with health, also accounts for a relatively small part of the health differential between migrants and the total urban group. This conclusion is based on age data for a random sample of 313 migrants. The size of this sample is determined by the fact that it included all the migrant cases found among the random sample of cases from the National Health Survey for which original data were

specific disability rates are not available for the migrants, a disability rate standardized for age was obtained by applying the age-specific disability rates for the total urban

TABLE 3. AGE DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANT SAMPLE AND TOTAL URBAN SAMPLE

Age	Migrant Sample ^a	Total Urban Sample ^b
Below 15	34.2	24.1
15-64	60.4	70.2
65 & above	5.4	5.7
Total	100.0	100.0

^a A random sample of 313 migrants drawn from the larger migrant sample.

^b Data from Table 2, p. 3 of "Color, Sex and Age of Population Enumerated," Preliminary Reports, The National Health Survey, Population Series, Bulletin No. E, National Institute of Health, U. S. Public Health Service. The size of this sample is 2,502,391.

group to the sample age distribution of the migrants. The resulting disability rate is 181. The standardized rate would be 248, if the migrant urban disability differential were due to differential age distribution alone. The standardized rate is remarkably close to the crude total urban rate of 172. This indicates that a real difference in age-specific disability rates rather than in age distributions must account for the greatest part of the migrant-non-migrant disability differential. It is true that this standardized rate is based on a relatively small migrant sample of 313. However, if sampling variations in each age category are taken into consideration by considering a range of sampling error of ± 3 sigma units for the proportion in each age-group, then the outer limits for the age-standardized rate are 170 and 187. These standardized rates were derived by (1) finding the probable range of random sampling variations in each category of the age distribution on the basis of the sample of 313, (2) constructing the age-distribution most favorable to a low illness rate and the age-distribution least favorable to a low illness rate by selecting the age distributions from the range possible on the basis of random sampling variations, (3) applying the age-specific rates for the total urban sample separately to these two age distributions. The range from 170 to 187 represents the result of this procedure. This range actually includes the total urban rate of 172. Even at its outer limit of 187, the standardized rate is much closer to the total urban rate of 172 than to the migrant rate of 248. Thus, the age factor appears to be only a small element in the high migrant disability rate.

Another factor which may account for poorer health of the migrants is the possibility that a substantial number of them came to the cities principally for reasons of health. Since medical facilities are more numerous in the cities, the greater disability rate of the migrants may simply reflect the migration of rural sick to urban medical facilities. Dorothy Thomas has suggested⁹ that this type of migration should be eliminated in the

study of migrant health differentials, since it tends to obscure the real differentials which would exist, if medical facilities were proportionately distributed between rural and urban areas. This question is of considerable practical importance. An answer to it will also help to answer the question as to whether redistribution of medical facilities between rural and urban groups will help to decrease urban public health problems.

Data are not available to measure directly the effect of migration to "health centers" upon the migrant disability rate. However, an indirect evaluation is possible. Webb and Brown¹⁰ found that 11 per cent of migrant families which came to the attention of migrant shelter authorities, migrated primarily because of the ill-health of some member of the family. They present some evidence that their migrant group is a representative one and not a group of lower class drifters. Even if the Brown and Webb migrant group is of lower economic status than that of the National Health Survey—as seems likely—then illness rates for the former should be higher than for the latter group. In this case 11 per cent would tend to be a maximum figure for the percentage of migrant families of the National Health Survey group which moved to the city because of the illness of a member of the family. Assuming that 11 per cent of the migrants were health-seekers and that the size of the family is constant as between health migrants and ordinary migrants, it would be necessary for the disability rate of the health migrants to be 863 in order for the rate of the ordinary migrants to be brought down to 172, the level of the general population. This means that the disability rate of the members of the health-migrant families, *including members not sick at all*, must be on the average five times as great as the rate for the ordinary population. It seems unlikely that a differential of this size exists. Admittedly these calculations are based on indirect and partial evidence but they do indicate that the health

⁹ Webb, John and Brown, Malcolm, *Migrant Families*, Research Monograph XVIII, Division of Social Research, WPA, 1938, p. 192.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 104.

differentials between the migrants and non-migrants probably are not due in any large part to migration for reasons of health. The exact influence of this special type of migration probably varies with economic conditions, and should be a subject of special study.

Although the data are not available for a detailed comparison of white and Negro disability rates, there is sufficient evidence that the migrant-non-migrant disability differentials are not due to the white-Negro differentials in the two groups. For a subsample of 5,198 Negro migrants to cities of 25,000 and over, the disability rate was 198; the rate for the 36,336 white migrants to these cities was 249, and the rate for the total sample was 243. Clearly the Negro portion of the sample could not have accounted for high migrant disability rates. The migrant-non-migrant differentials actually would be increased if all Negroes were taken from the sample.

The fact that the migrant status of all members of a family unit was determined by that of the head of the family may have had some effect on the differential illness rates. An urban female who married a migrant male after his migration to the city would be classified as a "migrant." On the other hand, a migrant female who married an urban male after her migration would *not* be counted in the migrant sample. These changes in classification as a result of migrant-non-migrant intermarriage would affect the illness differentials only insofar as the illness differential between migrant and non-migrant women who intermarried was different from that between migrant and non-migrant women who did not intermarry. Since the economic status of the urban males was higher than that of the migrant males, it is possible that the urban males were able to select the healthier single women as wives. However, even if such selection did operate, it is unlikely that the number of persons involved was large enough to affect significantly the overall migrant-non-migrant health differential.

The most serious objection to attaching general significance to the health differentials

found in this study is the fact that the migrant health data refer to residual migration rather than total migration. It is possible that the illness rate of those migrants who returned to rural areas may have been low enough to counterbalance the high rates of those who remained in the city. The period of migration covered in this study was 1926-1936, a period with a notable amount of migration "back to the farm." Those migrants who remained in the city may have included a substantial number stranded by ill-health, for example, individuals attached to urban medical facilities by chronic illness. On the other hand, a reasonable argument may also be made to the effect that the migrants who were sick would tend to go to their rural homes for help. Further research is needed to discover whether the disability rate for all rural-urban migrants would be less than that of the residual group.

A final consideration in interpreting the differentials found in this study is that the health differences may be associated with migrant status, itself, rather than with the rural origin of the migrants. This view is given some substantiation by a study of disability rates for the Eastern Health District of Baltimore by Downes and Collins.¹¹ In a continuing study of the morbidity histories of all the residents of a sample of Baltimore blocks, separate disability rates were computed for the total sample and for those families which migrated into or out of the sample area during the period of the study. This migrant group may have included rural-urban, urban-rural, inter-urban and intra-urban migrants. The ratio of the disability rate of the migrants to that for the total sample in this Baltimore study was 126. The corresponding ratio for rural-urban migrants and the total urban sample was 144 in the National Health Survey. In both studies the disability rates were considerably higher for the migrants alone than for the total sample. Further research is required to establish the relative importance of migrant status itself

¹¹ Downes, Jean and Collins, Selwyn D., "A Study of Illness Among the Families in the Eastern Health District of Baltimore," *The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, XVIII, No. 1, January, 1940.

and the origin of the migrants in creating migrant health differentials.

The findings of this study are limited by the admitted limitations of the basic data. However, it seems worthwhile to consider these findings seriously in view of the lack of more satisfactory data elsewhere. Moreover, it has been possible to estimate or assess more or less quantitatively the probable effects of most of the cited limitations. While admitting that large generalizations are not warranted by the basic data, the following specific conclusions are presented:

- (1) That in 1936 the health of recent rural-urban migrants who remained in the city was poorer than that of the general urban population.
- (2) That this health differential existed within each specific income class.
- (3) That this health differential was apparently not due mainly to differential age distribution.
- (4) That as far as they go, the data in this study are not consistent with the hypothesis that rural-urban migrants are healthier than the general urban population.

QUESTIONNAIRE VERSUS INTERVIEW METHODS IN THE STUDY OF HUMAN LOVE RELATIONSHIPS*

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WHETHER, in studies of sex, love, and marriage relations, it is best to employ a questionnaire or an interview technique of gathering the data is still an unresolved question. Major studies in these areas have been conducted with either one of these methods or a combination of the two. Thus, Hamilton, Dickinson and Beam, Landis, and Kinsey have favored the interview method.¹ On the other hand, Davis, Burgess and Cottrell, Terman, and Rockwood and Ford have employed questionnaires.² One study, that by Bromley and

Britten, has used a combination of questionnaire and interview techniques.³

The results of the foregoing studies, as well as of several other investigations of sexual and marital relationships, have by no means conclusively favored either the questionnaire or interview method of gathering data, although there has been a recent tendency to favor the latter technique. Each method seems to have its definite advantages and disadvantages, and neither can be given a blanket endorsement.

The present investigation, a pilot study of a series of researches into the psychology of human love relationships, was designed to shed some further light on the question of interview *versus* questionnaire approach to sexuo-amative research.

EXPERIMENTAL PROCEDURE

The subjects of the experiments consisted of eighty-nine female undergraduates from

Burgess and Leonard S. Cottrell, *Predicting Success and Failure in Marriage*, New York, Prentice-Hall, 1939; Lewis Termon and Others, *Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness*, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1938; Lemo D. Rockwood and Mary E. Ford, *Youth, Marriage and Parenthood*, New York, Wiley, 1945.

³Dorothy D. Bromley and F. Britten, *Youth and Sex*, New York, Harper, 1938.

* Manuscript received July 21, 1947.

† The writer wishes to thank Professors Irving Lorge, Percival M. Symonds and Laurance F. Shaffer for their helpful suggestions on the manuscript, and to thank Gordon F. Derner and Rochelle M. Wexler for their assistance in collating the data.

¹G. V. Hamilton, *A Research in Marriage*, New York, Boni, 1929; Robert L. Dickinson and Lura Beam, *A Thousand Marriages*, Baltimore, Williams and Wilkins, 1931; Carney Landis and Others, *Sex in Development*, New York, Hoeber, 1941; Alfred C. Kinsey, "Criteria for a Hormonal Exploration of the Homosexual," *Journal of Clinical Endocrinology*, 1: 424-428; 1941; Alfred C. Kinsey, "Sex Behavior in the Human Animal," *Annals of the N.Y. Academy of Sciences*, XLVII, Art. 5, May 9, 1947, pp. 635-37.

²Katherine B. Davis, *Factors in the Sex Life of 2200 Women*, New York, Harper, 1929; E. W.

three New York colleges. These subjects were interviewed by the writer during the Spring of 1944. They were asked to cooperate in a scientific study of human love relationships by answering questions which were almost exclusively concerned with love and not (as many of them at first supposed) with sexual data. They were selected on a voluntary basis (though only three of those who were asked refused to volunteer); seemed to enjoy being interviewed; and appeared to answer the questions in a straightforward, intelligent manner. Rapport was excellent in every case. Interviewing was done on a free, non-categorized basis, with the subjects' verbatim responses being stenographically recorded by the interviewer. The questions were presented in a direct, structured manner, and were asked in the same order of each respondent.

One year later, the original subjects were sent a questionnaire which included many of the same items asked in the first interview. The questionnaire was accompanied by a letter from the interviewer asking them, in the cause of further scientific research, to fill out the schedule and return it to him. No signature was required on the questionnaire; and the impression was given that it would be anonymously scored and interpreted. When, however, it was received, its biographical data were checked with responses to the original interviews and each respondent was thus identified. Two follow-up requests were later sent to subjects who failed to fill out and return the questionnaire. In all, completed schedules were finally received from seventy-three of the interviewees (82%); but, of these seventy-three, four had to be discarded because the main person loved by the respondent had apparently changed in the intervening year, and consequently some of the questions were answered on a different basis than had been the case when the interview was given.

The age range of the sixty-nine subjects on whom interview and questionnaire data were obtained was from seventeen to twenty-eight years; the average age being 20.5. Eighteen of the girls were freshmen; twenty-two, sophomores; twelve, juniors; and seven-

teen, seniors (at the time of the first interview). Twenty-five of the subjects resided in New York State; and the remainder had their permanent homes in fourteen other states, widely scattered across the nation. Sixty-four of the girls were single; five were married: Thirty of the subjects were Protestant; nineteen were Catholic; and twelve were Jewish.

The verbatim interview records of the sixty-nine subjects from whom questionnaires were also obtained were reviewed independently by the writer and two graduate students of clinical psychology. Each respondent's answers to the interview were categorized in accordance with the classifications used in the questionnaire responses. For example, one of the questionnaire items read: "Between my mother and my father there has been . . . A. A very deep love . . . B. A fairly strong love . . . C. A medium amount of love . . . D. Little love. . . E. No love whatever." The equivalent interview question was: "How much love has there been between your mother and father?" Typical answers to the interview question were: "Yes, I guess they loved each other well enough." "There's been no accord between my parents. A great deal of friction there." "They're very much in love—despite everything." "They don't like each other. It's always been that way as long as I can remember." The three categorizers independently reviewed each subject's response to this interview question and placed it in one of the five questionnaire categories to which they thought it most properly belonged, even though its wording did not exactly agree with any one of them. Similarly, they categorized each respondent's other interview free responses.

The correlation between the categorizations given by the first and second rater to the interview responses was .91. That between the first and third raters was .95; and that between the second and third raters was .94. These correlations indicate a satisfactory degree of reliability for this kind of categorizing.

Finally, a consensus of the three rater's categorizations of each interview response

was employed to make a master interview record for each respondent which could be compared with that respondent's self-categorized questionnaire record. The master interview and the questionnaire records were then independently scored to see how many respondents checked a given category of response for the interview and the questionnaire records.

To illustrate this procedure, consider another of the questions which appeared on the questionnaire form: "During my childhood, before I was twelve years old, I loved my mother . . . A. Very dearly . . . B. A good real . . . C. Pretty much I guess . . . D. Not too much . . . E. Not at all." In the course of the interview, the form in which this question was put to the subjects was: "When you were a child, before you were twelve years old, how much did you love your mother?" Typical answers to the interview item were: "There has been antagonism between us." "I loved her very much. Always very affectionate." "I was greatly attached to her." "No, I didn't love her very much." The three raters categorized the verbatim answers according to the five-way response outline used in the questionnaire answers. That is to say, they independently read the free interview response to each question and placed it in one of the five questionnaire categories into which they believed it best fitted, even though it may not have been phrased exactly as was a given category heading. The average of the three independent categorizations was then taken to represent the respondents' answers, on the interview, to the item. Then the sixty-nine interview and questionnaire responses were counted and found to be distributed as follows:

During my childhood,
before I was twelve
years old, I loved my
mother

	Interview	Questionnaire
Very Dearly	37	25
A Good Deal	17	27
Pretty Much, I Guess	14	10
Not Too Much	1	7
Not at All	0	0

A Chi-square analysis was then performed

to see if the questionnaire and interview response distributions were homogeneous: to see, in other words, if they differed significantly from each other. In this particular instance, Chi-square equals 9.40 for four degrees of freedom—which indicates that, at the 5% level of confidence, these distributions are *not* homogeneous, and that there is a significant difference between them.

Since, as inspection of these interview and questionnaire response distributions will show, the respondents apparently claimed greater love for their mother on the interview than on the questionnaire item; and since most individuals in our society are reared with the notion that they *should* have a high degree of love for their mother, it is probably reasonable to assume here that the subjects gave more self-condemnatory, and hence more self-revelatory, pictures of themselves on the questionnaire than on the interview item. It would seem that while many subjects wanted the interviewer to believe that they had considerable love for their mothers when they were children, they were willing to admit, in an anonymous questionnaire, that this was not exactly true.

However, questionnaire and interview response distributions like those just examined may possibly be significantly different from each other because of categorization discrepancies. The subjects may have changed their answers, from one administration to another, without really changing their sentiments. Thus, they may have answered "Very dearly" to the interview and "A good deal" to the interview item on a purely chance basis. Similarly, the category differences could have occurred because of erroneous categorizations by the three raters—who, even though they reliably agreed with one another, may have consistently over-rated the interview responses. Accordingly, to try to cancel out the effect of categorization differences, the five-point distributions compared above were combined into three-point distributions. Thus, the answers to the question on how much the respondents loved their mother during their childhood were re-combined and re-scored as follows:

During my childhood,
before I was twelve
years old, I loved my
mother

	Interview	Questionnaire
Very Dearly or A Good Deal	54	52
Pretty Much, I Guess	14	10
Not Too Much or Not at All	1	7

When these combined, or broader, distributions are treated by Chi-square analysis, Chi-square is found to equal 5.24 for two degrees of freedom. This is almost, though not quite, significant at the 5% level of confidence. Since, however, the distributions indicate that, once again, the subjects gave interview responses which were more favorable to themselves than were their questionnaire responses, there is some reason to suspect that the obtained differences between the distributions were not the result of categorization errors by the raters, or of accidental category changes by the subjects, but were inherent in the obtained data.

In accordance with the procedure just described, sixty categorized questions were selected from the questionnaire for comparison with sixty analogous interview items. These sixty sets of questions were rated by three professional psychologists and one sociologist to determine which twenty were most ego-involving, less ego-involving, or least ego-involving. Ego-involvement was defined in terms of the questions' being more or less embarrassing when presented to the respondents in a face-to-face interview. It was recognized by the raters that *all* sixty questions were in *some* degree ego-involving; but they were still able to discriminate sufficiently among them so that the average intercorrelations of their ego-involving ratings was .85. On the basis of a consensus of opinion of the four raters, the sixty questions were consequently divided into a three-way distribution: (a) twenty most ego-involving; (b) twenty less ego-involving; and (c) twenty least ego-involving. Then, in the manner described above, the sixty sets of questions were categorized and scored and their distribution patterns compared.

THE FINDINGS

The results of categorizing and scoring twenty most ego-involving, twenty less ego-involving, and twenty least ego-involving items in accordance with the foregoing procedure are shown in Table 1. This table contains interview and questionnaire distributions for each item; with Chi-squares calculated on an uncombined five-category and a combined three-category basis for some of the questions; on a four- and a two-category basis for other questions; and on a three- and two-category basis for a few remaining questions. The order in which the individual items are printed is haphazard, and does not represent any ranking in relation to ego-involvement; but the groupings are according to ego-involvement.

An examination of the data of Table 1 reveals the following points:

1. Six of the most ego-involving, three of the less ego-involving, and one of the least ego-involving items show some statistically significant degree of change from interview to questionnaire administration. On every one of these ten significantly changed questions, the subjects appeared to give less favorable questionnaire than interview response patterns.

2. While items that show significant differences on one basis of categorization by no means always maintain these differences when the categorization base is changed, they nearly always come close to attaining significance on the changed basis. Moreover, changing the categorization bases never seems to affect the direction of the differences between the interview and questionnaire administrations.

3. While it is possible that, on the basis of chance alone, one of the least ego-involving questions would show significant response pattern differences from interview to questionnaire administrations, it is highly improbable that as many as six of the most ego-involving questions would give significantly different response patterns between the two administrations.

4. The non-significant Chi-square figures for the most ego-involving items tend to be

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TABLE 1. RESPONSES OF 69 COLLEGE GIRLS TO 60 QUESTIONS FIRST ANSWERED IN AN INTERVIEW AND LATER ON A QUESTIONNAIRE

Question	Response Category	Number of Subjects Answering Each Category		Chi-square (Uncombined Categories)	Chi-square (Combined Categories)†
		Interview	Questionnaire		
<i>Most ego-involving questions</i>					
1. I loved my mother during my childhood	Very dearly	37	25	9.40*	5.24
	A good deal	17	27		
	Pretty much	14	10		
	Not too much	1	7		
	Not at all	0	0		
2. I loved my father during my childhood	Very dearly	27	15	9.52*	3.88
	A good deal	18	25		
	Pretty much	15	11		
	Not too much	8	12		
	Not at all	1	6		
3. I felt my mother loved me during my childhood	Dearly	44	41	2.08	.52
	A good deal	20	22		
	Only mediumly	4	5		
	Very little	1	1		
	Not at all	0	0		
4. I felt my father loved me during my childhood	Dearly	39	36	5.08	.20
	A good deal	20	22		
	Only mediumly	4	3		
	Very little	3	2		
	Not at all	1	2		
5. Conflicts between myself and my mother have usually been	Very many	4	4	2.40	2.36
	A good many	5	6		
	A fair amount	12	11		
	Few	28	32		
	Practically none	20	16		
6. My sex desires and feelings are	Very strong	0	2	2.45	.70
	Quite strong	11	13		
	About medium	51	47		
	Rather weak	7	7		
	Very weak	0	0		
7. I longed to be loved by the male I loved most	Very much	31	41	1.40	2.74
	Moderately	22	21		
	A little	10	4		
	Not at all	5	2		
8. I adored the male I loved most	Very much	28	34	1.72	1.65
	Moderately	21	24		
	A little	14	8		
	Not at all	4	1		
9. I made a bold attempt to win the love of the male I loved most	Very much	3	7	2.54	.17
	Moderately	20	24		
	A little	21	17		
	Not at all	25	21		

TABLE I—(continued)

Question	Response Category	Number of Subjects Answering Each Category		Chi-square (Uncombined categories)	Chi-square (Combined categories)†
		Interview	Questionnaire		
10. At times I wanted to hurt the male I loved most	Very much Moderately A little Not at all	1 6 13 49	3 15 19 32	9.56*	1.01
11. I was afraid that the male I loved most would not love me	Very much Moderately A little Not at all	10 20 20 19	26 13 16 14	10.58*	8.84†
12. I was mentally confused as a result of my greatest love	Very much Moderately A little Not at all	12 9 21 27	16 12 18 23	3.56	2.52
13. At times I wanted to be hurt by the male I loved most	Very much Moderately A little Not at all	2 1 18 48	3 3 15 48	2.64	.21
14. I felt inferior to the male I loved most	Very much Moderately A little Not at all	5 8 7 49	3 6 13 47	2.62	.34
15. I was jealous in regard to the male I loved most	Very much Moderately A little Not at all	8 7 16 38	13 10 16 30	4.46	1.44
16. I felt sex desires towards the male I loved most	Very much Moderately A little Not at all	21 21 15 12	29 19 12 9	.82	2.34
17. The male I loved most was	Very good-looking Fairly good-looking Not good-looking	29 38 2	15 48 6	7.62*	2.12
18. The male I loved most was	Very intelligent Fairly intelligent Not very intelligent	49 20 0	42 25 2	3.20	1.78
19. The male I loved most loved me	Very much Pretty much Very little	39 29 1	35 31 3	1.20	.98
20. Conflicts between myself and my father have usually been	Very many A good many A fair amount Few Practically none	1 3 6 24 35	4 9 9 23 24	7.42	6.72*

TABLE 1—(continued)

Question	Response Category	Number of Subjects Answering Each Category		Chi-square (Uncombined categories)	Chi-square (Combined categories)†
		Interview	Questionnaire		
Less Ego-Involving Questions					
21. Between my mother and father there has been	A very deep love	25	23	2.92	.96
	A fairly strong love	17	14		
	A medium am't of love	14	13		
	Little love	10	11		
	No love whatever	3	8		
22. I felt tender towards the male I loved most	Very much	32	40	2.34	1.71
	Moderately	28	22		
	A little	8	6		
	Not at all	0	0		
23. I was willing to sacrifice myself for the male I loved most	Very much	14	18	1.49	.46
	Moderately	33	29		
	A little	11	14		
	Not at all	11	8		
24. I admired the male I loved most	Very much	55	51	5.44	.65
	Moderately	11	17		
	A little	3	0		
	Not at all	0	1		
25. I was willing to forgive the unkind deeds of the male I loved most	Very much	21	19	1.86	.10
	Moderately	33	28		
	A little	7	11		
	Not at all	8	11		
26. I wanted to tell the male I loved most how much I loved him	Very much	30	27	1.49	1.31
	Moderately	21	18		
	A little	9	6		
	Not at all	8	7		
27. I felt more sure of myself as a result of my greatest love	Very much	29	32	2.65	.37
	Moderately	29	21		
	A little	10	13		
	Not at all	1	3		
28. I felt both love and hate for the male I loved most	Very much	5	4	.92	.36
	Moderately	4	6		
	A little	22	20		
	Not at all	37	35		
29. I was in awe of the male I loved most	Very much	4	5	1.38	.12
	Moderately	14	14		
	A little	20	25		
	Not at all	28	22		
30. I wanted to fondle and kiss the male I loved most	Very much	20	32	5.96*	4.42*
	Moderately	27	16		
	A little	15	15		
	Not at all	7	6		
31. I knew moments of ecstasy as a result of my greatest love	Very much	24	32	5.76	5.11*
	Moderately	25	23		
	A little	10	8		
	Not at all	8	6		

TABLE 1—(continued)

Question	Response Category	Number of Subjects Answering Each Category		Chi-square (Uncombined categories)	Chi-square (Combined categories)†
		Interview	Questionnaire		
32. I felt humble when with the male I loved most	Very much Moderately A little Not at all	7 15 15 31	9 13 18 268	.59	.26
33. I wanted to mother the male I loved most	Very much Moderately A little Not at all	8 7 26 27	10 10 21 27	1.33	.26
34. I wanted the male I loved most to be the father of my children	Very much Moderately A little Not at all	39 13 7 10	42 12 6 9	.55	.22
35. I was devoted to the male I loved most	Very much Moderately A little Not at all	22 33 10 4	33 27 7 2	4.43	3.71
36. I was cautious when with the male I loved most	Very much Moderately A little Not at all	6 12 21 30	6 16 23 22	3.44	1.38
37. I felt more beautiful as a result of my greatest love	Very much Moderately A little Not at all	18 18 18 15	16 16 19 18	.47	.37
38. I felt affection towards the male I loved most	Very much Moderately A little Not at all	44 19 6 0	50 17 2 0	2.67	.89
39. I was proud of the male I loved most	Very much Moderately A little Not at all	42 19 5 2	45 18 3 2	.63	.25
40. I felt possessive towards the male I loved most	Very much Moderately A little Not at all	11 22 17 15	20 22 17 10	3.94	3.82*
<i>Least Ego-Involving Questions</i>					
41. As a child, I was usually	Very happy Rather happy Moderately happy Rather unhappy Very unhappy	25 34 5 4 1	23 31 6 1 1	2.03	1.52

TABLE 1—(continued)

Question	Response Category	Number of subjects Answering Each Category		Chi-square (Uncombined categories)	Chi-square (Combined categories)†
		Interview	Questionnaire		
42. The sex education my parents gave me was	Very inadequate	20	17	.81	.31
	Rather inadequate	16	20		
	Not too adequate	14	12		
	Rather adequate	14	15		
	Very adequate	5	5		
43. Concerning love between men and women my mother usually spoke	Very favorably	31	28	1.10	.94
	Fairly favorably	10	12		
	Not fav. or unfav.	21	24		
	Rather unfavorably	6	0		
	Very unfavorably	0	0		
44. Concerning love between men and women my father usually spoke	Very favorably	20	22	1.57	1.22
	Fairly favorably	13	10		
	Not fav. or unfav.	34	36		
	Rather unfavorably	1	0		
	Very unfavorably	0	0		
45. I kept thinking of the male I loved most	Very much	40	45	1.36	.97
	Moderately	23	17		
	A little	3	4		
	Not at all	3	3		
46. I felt a desire to be with the male I loved most	Very much	52	57	3.45	1.31
	Moderately	11	10		
	A little	4	1		
	Not at all	1	0		
47. I felt romantic towards the male I loved most	Very much	39	43	1.38	.66
	Moderately	24	18		
	A little	6	8		
	Not at all	0	0		
48. I had more energy and ambition as a result of my greatest love	Very much	29	31	.27	.11
	Moderately	19	19		
	A little	12	0		
	Not at all	9	10		
49. I was blind to the faults of the male I loved most	Very much	8	7	1.66	.02
	Moderately	9	15		
	A little	20	19		
	Not at all	31	27		
50. I was more interested in life as a result of my greatest love	Very much	18	22	1.66	.52
	Moderately	36	33		
	A little	10	9		
	Not at all	5	5		
51. I had warm, burning or glowing bodily feelings as a result of my greatest love	Very much	27	32	.69	1.16
	Moderately	22	21		
	A little	15	11		
	Not at all	5	5		

TABLE 1—(continued)

Question	Response Category	Number of Subjects Answering Each Category		Chi-square (Uncombined categories)	Chi-square (Combined categories)†
		Interview	Questionnaire		
52. I had shocked, dizzy or electric bodily feelings as a result of my greatest love	Very much	5	10	2.80	2.31
	Moderately	13	12		
	A little	12	15		
	Not at all	38	31		
53. I was surprised when I fell in love with the male I loved most	Very much	20	29	8.99*	5.07*
	Moderately	10	10		
	A little	20	16		
	Not at all	18	13		
54. I felt real friendship for the male I loved most	Very much	41	40	3.32	.03
	Moderately	24	21		
	A little	4	5		
	Not at all	0	3		
55. I was at times unhappy or sad as a result of my greatest love	Very much	9	13	1.39	.87
	Moderately	30	26		
	A little	17	15		
	Not at all	13	15		
56. I was more sensitive to beautiful things as a result of my greatest love	Very much	22	16	1.62	1.29
	Moderately	20	21		
	A little	18	20		
	Not at all	8	11		
57. I felt more excited than usual as a result of my greatest love	Very much	30	37	1.90	1.50
	Moderately	24	19		
	A little	10	10		
	Not at all	5	3		
58. I wanted to tell others how much I loved the male I loved most	Very much	21	24	.83	.60
	Moderately	26	23		
	A little	15	17		
	Not at all	7	5		
59. I was happy as a result of my greatest love	Very much	50	51	1.42	.03
	Moderately	14	16		
	A little	5	0		
	Not at all	0	0		
60. I felt kinder towards other people as a result of my greatest love	Very much	24	22	1.85	.98
	Moderately	30	27		
	A little	12	14		
	Not at all	3	6		

* Significant at the .05 level of confidence.

† Significant at the .01 level of confidence.

‡ The Chi-squares for the uncombined categories are calculated on the basis of the tabulated distributions. Those for the combined categories are calculated on the basis of broadening the distributions, so that the five-category distributions are combined into three-category distributions, and the four- and three-category distributions are combined into two-category distributions.

greater than those for the less ego-involving items, which in turn tend to be greater than those for the least ego-involving items.

5. If the questions are considered from the standpoint of ego-involvement in relation to the normal patterns of our society (as agreed upon by four independent raters), it is obvious that the subjects gave less favorable questionnaire than interview responses to fifty-five of the sixty items. Only on Questions No. 14, 39, 42, 43, and 44 do they seem to have given somewhat less favorable interview than questionnaire responses; and in none of these instances does the difference between questionnaire and interview response patterns attain statistical significance.

6. In nearly all cases the subjects answered the questionnaire (in comparison with the interview) items with more extreme admissions of traits—like jealousy, sadism, masochism, aggressiveness, and strong sexuality—which have unfavorable connotations in our culture.

7. In nearly all cases the subjects answered the questionnaire (in comparison with the interview) items with fewer extreme admissions of traits—like forgiveness, happiness, sensitivity to beauty, and kindness—which have favorable connotations in our society.

8. In nearly all cases the subjects answered the questionnaire (in comparison with the interview) items with more extreme admissions of traits—like tenderness, adoration, devotion, affection, and romanticism—which connote intense, and perhaps foolhardy, love in our society.

To determine if the changed responses made by the subjects from the interview to the questionnaire administrations were produced by a relatively small number of the sixty-nine respondents, a vertical check on these changes was made. Each subject's answers to the sixty pair of questions were analyzed to determine what proportion of more favorable, less favorable, and unchanged responses she had made from the first to the second administration.

It was found that on the twenty most ego-involving items, the sixty-nine subjects gave

an average of 6.62 more favorable interview than questionnaire answers; an average of 3.40 less favorable interview than questionnaire answers; and an average of 9.98 identical interview and questionnaire answers. On the twenty less ego-involving items, the subjects gave an average of 6.57 more favorable interview than questionnaire responses; an average of 3.45 less favorable interview than questionnaire responses; and an average of 10.04 identical interview and questionnaire responses. Finally, on the twenty least ego-involving items, the subjects gave an average of 6.40 more favorable interview than questionnaire answers; an average of 3.19 less favorable interview than questionnaire answers; and an average of 10.41 identical interview and questionnaire answers. This means that, on all three groups of questions, the subjects changed their responses to about half the questions on the second (questionnaire) administration; and that, of the changed responses, almost twice as many were changed, on the questionnaire administration, in a less favorable than in a more favorable direction.

It was also found that only eight subjects gave, on the whole, more favorable questionnaire than interview responses to the twenty most ego-involving items; fifty-three gave less favorable questionnaire responses; and eight gave equally favorable (and unfavorable) replies to both interview and questionnaire. On the twenty less ego-involving questions, ten subjects gave more favorable questionnaire responses, fifty-two gave less favorable ones, and seven gave equally favorable responses. On the twenty least ego-involving items, eleven subjects gave more favorable questionnaire than interview responses, fifty gave less favorable questionnaire responses, and eight gave equally favorable questionnaire and interview responses.

DISCUSSION

On the basis of the foregoing findings, it appears that the great majority of the subjects gave less favorable, or what may be called more incriminating, responses to the questionnaire than they did to the interview.

While some of the items brought out the discrepancy between the two administrations more than did other items, there was some discrepancy on each of the sixty questions, and this was almost always in favor of the questionnaire as far as self-revelation was concerned. Moreover, in ten instances the discrepancy in favor of the questionnaire was large enough to reach the level of statistical significance. Once again, although a few of the respondents gave more self-incriminating answers to the interview than to the questionnaire, and a few answered both instruments in an equally discriminating manner, the great majority responded less favorably to the questionnaire on all three types of questions than they did to the interview.

It must be pointed out that the experimental design was *not* such as to compare the interview with the questionnaire technique of assessing personality, and that the findings in no way contradict the common psychological assumption that interviews are preferable to questionnaire techniques for depth analysis. The interview, in the present study, was designed only for research purposes, and not for personality diagnosis. Although rapport between interviewer and interviewees appeared to be excellent, all interviews were completed at a single sitting, and no particularly close relationship between the participants was achieved. Besides, the interviewer was of a sex opposite to that of the interviewees, and it is possible that some of the latter wished to make a favorable impression on him.

Nevertheless, the conditions of the experiment did closely approximate those of the usual fact-gathering investigation. In research—whether or not the fact is accepted with enthusiasm—conditions usually require that interviewing be done at a single sitting, in a manner similar to that prevailing in the present study. The experimental findings may therefore be deemed quite relevant to research studies. The conclusions to be drawn are that in investigations of love and marital relationships with college subjects, the questionnaire method of gathering data is at least as satisfactory as the interview method; and that as questions become more ego-involving,

the questionnaire technique may produce more self-revelatory data than the interview method.

The findings of the present study are substantiated to some extent by those of Pointer, as quoted by Davis. Pointer, comparing records of women who had been voluntarily interviewed by Dr. Elizabeth Spencer McCall, with questionnaire records of an equivalent group of women who had responded to the Davis sex survey, found that "the questionnaire is more reliable on the basis of the larger number of admissions of sex practice among this group"; and "it is questionable whether in this particular study the interviewer contributed any definite reliable data not attainable by the questionnaire alone."⁴ It is noteworthy that, even to a feminine interviewer, women may hesitate to give psycho-sexual information which they will sometimes give to an anonymous questionnaire.

The findings of the present study also confirm the views of some psychologists and sociologists, particularly Suttie, who believe that there is a kind of tabu on love and tenderness in our society.⁵ Quite consistently, the subjects admitted extreme feelings of tenderness, adoration, devotion, and affection towards the male they loved most when answering the anonymous questionnaire; but made decidedly fewer such admissions when answering the interview. While our particular culture undoubtedly favors romantic love, it would appear that it does not favor the admission of extreme feelings of tenderness; or, at least, that it relatively favors a high degree of self-centered ego-upholding, which conflicts with the verbal and/or inner expression of tender feelings.

SUMMARY

Sixty-nine female undergraduates were questioned, first by an interview method, and a year later by an anonymous questionnaire, about their love relationships. When their answers to sixty analogous items appearing in

⁴ Davis, *Factors in the Sex Life of 2200 Women*, 412-14.

⁵ Ian D. Suttie, *The Origins of Love and Hate*, London, Kegan Paul, 1935.

the interview and the questionnaire were compared, it was found that to fifty-five of the questions a majority of the subjects gave less favorable, and presumably more self-revelatory, questionnaire than interview responses. On six of twenty most ego-involving, three of twenty less ego-involving, and one of twenty least ego-involving items, the obtained differences in favor of the questionnaire method reached some degree of statistical significance. When each subject's responses to all sixty questions were considered, it was found that, from the interview to the questionnaire administration, the average subject changed about half her responses, and made almost twice as many changes in a less favorable than in a more favorable direc-

tion. It was also found that while only a few subjects answered the interview as a whole less favorably than they did the questionnaire, and a few made as many favorable as unfavorable changes from interview to questionnaire administrations, the great majority answered the interview more favorably, and presumably less revealingly, than they answered the questionnaire.

On the basis of these findings it was concluded that, for the purpose of studying the love and marital relations of college students, the questionnaire method of gathering data is as satisfactory as the interview method; and that as questions become more ego-involving, the questionnaire may produce more self-revelatory data than the interview technique.

TOWARD A DEFINITION OF THE SOCIOLOGIST*

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THE American Sociological Society has thus far been unable to define a professional sociologist.¹

The official association of sociologists is not alone in its confusion concerning the nature of its membership. Our academic colleagues as well as the public at large give repeated evidence that they do not understand what we are up to. It is a bitter commentary on the state of our discipline that we are still confused with Socialists, that it is presumed that our special qualification is "sociability" (so that the prospect of an anti-social sociologist is supposed to be ironical), and that many economists, historians, and political scientists conceive of us as vestigial theologians preaching in their preserves.

As a recently peripatetic professor I have been impressed with the varied qualifications of those dispensing instruction in this field. Everyone is a sociologist. Quondam historians, anthropologists, philosophers, economists, educationists, and a raggle-taggle of

welfare workers, would-be revolutionaries, and sundry men of good will may be seen teaching "sociology." Colleges have hired men to teach "sociology" whose only apparent qualifications consisted of being a "socially-conscious" Unitarian minister and, in another instance, of having worked on an Indian reservation.

Sociology is "interesting stuff" and it seems that almost everyone concerned with social problems would "like to take a whack at it," as one historian recently put it to me. He added, "I'd emphasize the economic factors underlying these problems."

This state of affairs is more than embarrassing to anyone who has received what purports to be a specialized training in a specific area. I have been embarrassed at the connotational associations that are apparently rung up in academicians' minds when I have been introduced as "the new sociologist." The responses indicate the term to border on an epithet and to bring forth visions of some sort of flabby-minded, sentimental-slushy, Christian-socialist gentleman of honorable intentions supported by no recognizable body of knowledge or identifiable techniques. All

* Manuscript received June 5, 1947.

¹ George A. Lundberg, "Sociologists and the Peace," *American Sociological Review*, IX, 1944, No. 2.

that seems granted "sociologists" is a trade jargon that is looked upon as more quaint and esoteric than informative.

AN APPROXIMATE DESCRIPTION OF THE SOCIOLOGIST

We can begin to rough out the definition of a sociologist when we recognize that if there is a valid specialty in the study of social relations, the specialist, the sociologist, must be distinguished from any other kind of dabbler in things social by three characteristics:

(1) He knows something about social relationships. He has a body of information not available to those who have not undergone a similar period of training.

(2) He has certain skills. He is capable of using certain techniques in order to answer questions and to increase the fund of knowledge which his specialized training has already provided him.

(3) He has a distinctive function. The principal function of the sociologist is to ascertain the probability with which certain types of social events will occur when certain conditions prevail. Put another way, this means that the sociologist's task is to gain a scientific understanding of some kinds of social behavior,² and that such understanding is best achieved through a study of the conditions which seem to give rise to these behaviors. The operational test of scientific understanding is ability to predict.³ To the

² Just which types of social events comprise the province of sociology is a matter of division of labor between sociologists and other social scientists. It is not our present intention to categorize a distinctive sociological area, but to argue for recognition of a more general professional function.

³ It will be observed that the term, "understanding," is qualified by the adjective, "scientific." There may be other kinds of "understanding"; however, the method of science provides the one procedure by which reliable estimates of causal relationships may be made. As a technique for determining such relationships, science is characterized by public evidence and the construction and testing of hypotheses. For a more detailed discussion of science as a method of knowing, see George A. Lundberg, *Foundations of Sociology*, Macmillan, 1939, Part I; J. H. Randall, Jr. and J. Buchler, *Philosophy: An Introduction*, Barnes & Noble, 1942, Chs. 5-7; Felix Kaufmann, *The Methodology of the Social Sciences*, Oxford, 1944.

extent that one is able to estimate on the basis of publicly repeatable procedures how social events are likely to turn out we say that such a person has scientific understanding.

In addition to this function, the sociologist may, of course, perform the secondary function of transmitting the sociological body of knowledge or the techniques of knowledge-gaining.

OBSTACLES TO AN ACCEPTABLE DEFINITION OF THE SOCIOLOGIST

There may be several reasons why sociologists are presently an ill-defined lot:

(1) The broad scope of their subject may be blamed. Actually this complexity and scope is a function of:

(2) The inchoate status of the techniques developed for the study of society.

(3) But probably the outstanding reason lies in a confusion of roles. The sociologist does not know whether he is supposed to be a delineator of what is or an advocate for some conception of what should be. More tersely, is his professional capacity that of scientist or moralist? Despite denials, these are mutually exclusive roles.

The confusion of roles which besets the sociological fraternity has been abetted by two related but separable movements: (a) what might be termed the "responsibility" school and (b) the "evaluative" methodologists.

(a) The "responsibility" school takes its contemporary lead from Lynd's *Knowledge for What?* The point of view expressed in this work has a wide acceptance among sociologists, and understandably so when the sociological selective process is considered. It is usually acknowledged that students of things social have been attracted to this field of study because of prejudices for or against certain facets of social behavior. They have, in many cases, been drawn to study "social problems," that is, affairs that are "bad" and that should be corrected.

It comes as no great surprise, then, to hear sociologists advocate certain courses of action as the *duty* of their colleagues. "Knowledge brings responsibility," it is said, and this

advocacy of social action becomes more pressing as the values concerned are more critically placed.

It is not our present purpose to discuss this proposition in detail other than to note that when a sociologist talks like this, he is no longer speaking in his professional capacity. He has shifted roles. He is now a moralist, an amateur philosopher dabbling in deontology.⁴

But despite its deontological implications, the "responsibility" argument is given greater force when its advocates contend that "social action" is not only a moral mandate, but also a matter of self-interest. Lynd, and such sympathetic writers as Wolff⁵ and Boran⁶ seek to show how "science in general and the social sciences in particular . . . (are) historically conditioned." Sociologists are then urged to recommend a certain set of non-scientific values as a matter of survival. It is said that "free inquiry" is best guaranteed by democracy, variously and vaguely defined, if at all. It follows, then, that sociologists, motivated by their own self-interest,

if not by "higher" principles, should be democrats.

Sociology can play an effective role in social change only by offering her services to implement one or the other side in that struggle. This means that sociology and the other social sciences are not the relatively independent variables through the dissemination of which the desired changes in the social order will peacefully come about. Lynd calls on sociologists to take the democratic side in the colossal struggle (though he seems to doubt that they will). . . .⁸

In terms of the present framework, there are two answers to this argument: (1) The assumption of "democracy" being the only system assuring the possibility of a scientific sociology may not be a correct one. (2) Even if this assumption should be correct, this argument does not provide a proper criterion for the definition of a sociologist, but serves further to cloud the issue. Belief in "democracy," or in any other socio-political system, is not a professional prerequisite. Such a prerequisite may be demanded in totalitarian countries by non-professional authorities, but, as professionally defined, the sociologist is not characterized by commitment to any politico-religious faith. It may be that most sociologists are in fact so committed, but this is not a distinguished occupational trait.

(b) The "responsible" sociologist gains support from the "evaluative" methodologist. In fact, the two groups are usually, but not necessarily, coterminous. However, their respective contributions to the confusion of what constitutes a professional sociologist may be discussed separately.

In an appendix to *An American Dilemma*, Gunnar Myrdal gave voice to an idea which, when accepted, obfuscates the role of the sociologist. It is the idea that all social studies involve tacit assumptions about what is good and bad, of what should and should not be. As long as they remain unstated, these assumptions ordinarily pervert results. The cure for such bias-corrupted observation—and this is Myrdal's contribution to method-

⁴Sociologists with deontological inclinations might profit from a reading of Charles L. Stevenson, *Ethics and Language*, Yale, 1944, and they should be prepared to answer Bertrand Russell when he writes in *Religion and Science*, Holt, 1945: "Questions as to 'values'—that is to say, as to what is good or bad on its own account, independently of its effects—lie outside the domain of science, as the defenders of religion emphatically assert. I think that in this they are right, but I draw the further conclusion, which they do not draw, that questions as to 'values' lie wholly outside the domain of knowledge."

"(Ethics) is an attempt to bring the collective desires of a group to bear upon individuals; or conversely, it is an attempt by an individual to cause his desires to become those of his group. . . . When a man says, 'This is good in itself,' . . . he means . . . 'Would that everybody desired this.' . . . (Such a statement) makes no assertion, but expresses a wish; since it affirms nothing, it is logically impossible that there should be evidence for or against it, or for it to possess either truth or falsehood." Cited by Stevenson, *op. cit.*, fn. 17, p. 265.

⁵Kurt H. Wolff, "Notes toward a sociocultural interpretation of American sociology," *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, 1946, XI: 545-553.

⁶Behice Boran, "Sociology in retrospect," *Amer. Jour. Sociol.*, 1947, 52: 312-320.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 319.

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 319.

ology—consists of openly stating one's biases. Such catharsis is supposed to guarantee objectivity or, at least, to make it more probable.

It has already been shown that Myrdal's idea is none too clearly formulated, that it suffers from errors in logic, an untenable psychology of autism, and from the breach of an elementary semantic canon.⁹ However, interpretations of this criticism of Myrdal indicate a sorry confusion concerning the nature of the sociologist,¹⁰ and it is this confusion that we should like to see cleared up.

If, as stated earlier, the distinctive function of the sociologist is to ascertain the probability with which certain types of social events will occur under certain conditions, then the "evaluative" school performs a disservice, first, in obscuring this function by stressing another, and, second, by corrupting the one method through which the proper function may be performed.

The proper sociological function, as we see it, is obscured by the "evaluative" sociologists when they sponsor the erroneous notion that scientific understanding¹¹ is best secured by evaluating social events in the

sense of approving or disapproving them. This clouds the distinctive function of the sociologist by calling upon him to defend some conception of what should be.

There is nothing in the sociologist's discipline that especially qualifies him to determine what should be,¹² nor is such a determination essential to a statement of how events probably occur.

More tragi-comically, on most issues concerning what ultimately should be, the membership of the American Sociological Society would be divided. Whose vision of the good world shall we accept: Sorokin's or Lynd's? Fortunately, as sociologists, we do not have to decide. It is neither our professional competence nor our function to do so.

Even more damaging than this obscuring of function is the evaluative school's contention that they are advancing a method of research. Confessions of one's views of what should be do not constitute a method of observation. If all future research reports were to be prefaced by a statement of the author's wishes concerning how things should be, objectivity, understanding, and predictability would not be enhanced one jot. When, for example, a division of the American Psychological Association publishes a book on *Industrial Conflict*¹³ in which the preamble admits a pro-labor bias, the objectivity of the

⁹ Gwynne Nettler, "A note on Myrdal's 'Note on facts and valuations,' Appendix 2 of *An American Dilemma*," *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, 1944, 9: 686-688.

¹⁰ Cf. Arnold Rose's rejoinder to Nettler's criticism of Myrdal, *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, 1945, 10: 560-562.

¹¹ Sometimes, of course, such sociologists deny that scientific understanding, at least of certain types of social events, is at all possible. For example, in his defense of Myrdal, Rose takes this position when he attempts the untenable distinction between the "laws" governing "compulsive and unthinking" behaviors as opposed to more purposive and rational acts. Thus "mental pathology" is supposed to be explainable by different "laws" than normal mentation. Such a view fits in nicely with the "evaluative" position; if there can be no rules applicable to purposive behaviors, there is no need to search for them. Instead we can continue as fruitlessly as did the philosophers before us to "evaluate" such behaviors. (The qualification that there can be no "universal" rules applicable to rational behaviors is meaningless since it assumes that such laws hold in other disciplines. Actually, there is no such thing as a "universal rule" applicable regardless of conditions.)

It should be indicated that such a dichotomy as

Rose proposes has long ago been abandoned, with promising results, by abnormal psychologists, and is denied by most students of deviant behaviors. Sutherland's contributions to our knowledge of criminogenesis provide another instance of the fruitful denial of this untenable distinction, and certainly no student of Max Weber (an abused demi-god of the "evaluationists") would commit the error of holding that "compulsive" behaviors were more susceptible to statements about the regularity of their occurrence than "rational" behaviors.

¹² It is understood that by "should be" reference is made to ultimate goals. Professionally, the sociologist may be asked questions about the appropriateness of means to defined ends. In this sense, it would be a proper sociological function to state (although other words could be used), "If you wish Goal-X, then you 'should' do so-and-so." But this is no longer a moral 'should.'

¹³ G. W. Hartmann and T. Newcomb, *Industrial Conflict: A Psychological Interpretation*, Cordon, New York, 1939. First Yearbook of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues. Incidentally,

research contents is not thereby guaranteed, as the "evaluative" sociologists seem to think. Such an admission of bias, of how things should be, is actually irrelevant. It neither vitiates nor validates any observations on the etiology of industrial conflict. It contributes nothing to the solution of the problem involved. It does not sharpen understanding. In short, it is not a necessary part of scientific method and, in fact, is no method at all. Kaufmann defines methodology as being "concerned with the criteria of . . . correctness, i.e., with the validity of the propositions under consideration."¹⁴ A statement of our own biases or a long-distance analysis of the values of another sociologist tells nothing about the validity of the propositions under consideration.

THE SOCIOLOGIST AND SOCIAL CHANGE

In very brief compass we have tried to indicate the broader boundaries of the professional sociologist and to attack in passing two points of view which contribute to the persistent blurring of these limits. But many sociologists are apt to be discontented within the more confining ambit of their professional function as it has been roughly outlined here. Their discontent stems from the magnitude and urgency of the problems confronting us, and this discontent often creates a dangerous impatience with the tedium of research. It calls for doing where knowing would be the prudent first step.

The "responsibility and evaluationist" schools show in their writings a strong wish

what is the significance for sociological function of an association of psychologists to study social issues? Does it mean some scientists are doing our work while we debate whether the work can be done? And please notice, in this regard, the formation by psychologists under the leadership of the late Kurt Lewin of an Institute for the Study of Group Dynamics at—and this is doubly significant—Massachusetts Institute of Technology. And some students think "the group" is the special province of sociology! The recent published works of Lewin and his associates on "group behavior" have not even been reviewed in either the *American Sociological Review* or the *American Journal of Sociology*.

¹⁴Felix Kaufmann, *The Methodology of the Social Sciences*, Oxford, New York, 1944, pp. 190-191.

to "do something" about directing the social changes that beset us. The problems are pressing, and the evaluationist would have us leave our Ivory Towers and calculating machines (this allusion is always good for a sneer) and "save the ship." That sociologists may not know how to save the ship is a possibility the evaluationists haven't time to examine.

It is this strong impetus to action—that is, non-scientific action—that motivates the editorial blasts at what the "responsible" sociologists call "positivism" and "scientism." For it is the kind of thinking identified by these pejoratives that is more concerned with discovering how events occur than with prescribing how they should occur. By dint of diligent application of a marvelous *non-sequitur*, consistent students of what is, and, hence, of what might be, are read out of the "responsible" sociological in-group by the calumny that studious concern with the "how" and the "what is" amounts to an evaluation in favor of the *status quo*.¹⁵ This argument is very much like accusing a physician who studies how to treat broken limbs of a bias in favor of fractures. But, nevertheless, the argument is still given currency.

Myrdal¹⁶ and, within a more cautious frame of reference, Wolff¹⁷ exemplify this mode of thought in their attack on the concept of "mores" as being "static concepts." Apparently if there are such behaviors as this term describes, one cannot anticipate rapid and easy social change in a direction opposed to them.

Now, a person interested in knowing something about the prospects of a particular change in social behaviors would seek to

¹⁵*Status quo* is, of course, another pejorative label, and the only evaluation of *status quo* permitted by this school is the proper one: that of disdaining it.

Actually, a personal concern with certain fragments of "what is" may be motivated by a desire to check the validity of various programs advanced as the road to "what should be."

¹⁶Myrdal, *op. cit.*, pp. 1049-1057.

¹⁷Wolff, *op. cit.*, pp. 549-550. "Folkways" and 'mores,' in their universal and generally uncritical use, are probably indicative of an unfavorable attitude toward induced change, and of a *laissez-faire* attitude in general."

know if there were any substance to the concept, "mores." This, however, is not the tactic of the "evaluationists." Instead they resort to a perverse pragmatism. They imply that the concept, "mores," is to be shunned, not because it may be useless for predictive purposes, but because of other consequences, namely, that we may cease pushing, heedlessly perhaps, for certain changes if we recognize the existence of such "moral behaviors."

This irrelevancy is compounded with a fantastic genetic fallacy: that the men who refer to the mores as an aspect of social behavior that must be considered in social change do so because they do not like social change. Sociologists should know that the validity of a statement is not determined by an analysis of the motives which presumably led to the making of that statement. A proposition is neither proved nor disproved by reference to its putative genesis.¹⁸

Yet some sociologists persist in an absurd "telepsyching" of the motives of "positivists." Arnold Rose¹⁹ can only deny that this is an *argumentum ad hominem* as well as a genetic fallacy, and Wolff misses the point when he writes: "I do not find Nettler's critique of Myrdal's critique a proof that Sumner, Park, and Ogburn do not exhibit an attitude favorable to *laissez-faire* . . ."²⁰

In reading the works of any sociologist, an analysis of the possible attitudes and motives functioning in the writer is not only infeasible, but irrelevant. There are only two questions one need ask in reading a scientific work, and neither question concerns the motives of the author. It is only necessary to inquire (1) what the thesis is,²¹ and (2) what

evidence is brought to bear on that thesis. Motives, alleged or real, are not evidence of scientific validity, and the attitude of sociologists toward *laissez-faire* is as irrelevant for a weighing of any particular scientific thesis they advance as are Marx's carbuncles to the assessment of *Das Kapital*.

Actually the "evaluationists" attack on the mores is not based on any evidence that this concept provides an inaccurate description of a certain class of human behaviors, but rather it is felt that this abstraction is harmful to certain reformist values. As propagandists, Myrdal and his associates are right. If one wishes to move people into action, full knowledge of the consequences of that action may prove a deterrent. Hence, the reformist must deny knowledge when it calls caution.²²

If there are persistent patterns of behavior burdened with an emotional freight, the breaking of which is defined as harmful to the social order and involves group antagonism, and which are resistant to change, the reformist must deny the strength of these patterns or, as in the case of Myrdal, attempt to vitiate the very idea.

But to argue, as Myrdal has, that mores are conservative, and that the concept makes for sociological conservatism is to discuss some of the extra-scientific consequences of a social datum and knowledge thereof, but it does not test the descriptive qualities of that concept.

If the concept of the mores describes how

the sociology of knowledge be defined as the study of the conditions under which certain types of thought and belief are likely to be held. While this is an interesting study, it does not function to establish criteria for testing the validity of a thesis.

²² "The inertia of society is so stubborn that no one will move against it, if he cannot believe that it can be more easily overcome than is actually the case. And no one will suffer the perils and pains involved in the process of radical social change, if he cannot believe in the possibility of a purer and fairer society than will ever be established. These illusions are dangerous because they justify fanaticism; but their abandonment is perilous because it inclines to inertia." Reinhold Niebuhr, *Moral Man and Immoral Society*, Scribner's, New York, 1941, p. 221. This idea is, of course, found in other writers, notably Pareto.

¹⁸ Some students of the sociology of knowledge would quarrel with this. For example, Karl Mannheim attempted to revise "the thesis that the genesis of a proposition is under all circumstances irrelevant to its truth." *Ideology and Utopia*, Harcourt, Brace, New York, 1936, pp. 262-264. However, if by "truth" is meant "scientific truth," Mannheim's attempted revision fails.

¹⁹ Rose, *op. cit.*, p. 561.

²⁰ Wolff, *op. cit.*, fn. #33, p. 550.

²¹ The sociologist of knowledge shows that only certain types of thesis are apt to arise in a particular socio-cultural situation. We might suggest that

people behave under certain conditions, it is a fruitful sociological concept. That it may have implications harmful to certain moral issues is also something that may be studied sociologically, but the sociologist becomes a moralist when he chooses to deny a concept because it conflicts with his values.

And when the sociologist turns moralist, he defeats himself twice over. He impedes himself both as a scientific sociologist and as a valuing human. He defeats himself, first, as a sociologist by shirking the difficult task of a scientist of social relations in favor of the far easier and much less distinctive role of value-judge. And, second, he defeats himself as a moralist concerned with achieving desired ends.

The latter defeat is a two-fold consequence of ignorance and the moralistic tendency to divorce truth and utility. One very important reason why large-scale moralistic programs seldom, if ever, achieve their announced goals is that in the agitation for "good" action certain relevant spheres of knowledge are denied. The desire to achieve one's values often means a desire to deny embarrassing information. But, unfortunately, it is precisely this denied knowledge in its consequences that frustrates or deflects the reformist program. If men are to be moved to action, they must have no doubts. Knowledge that raises doubts is, therefore, "bad" knowledge, such as knowledge of the mores in the field of race relations. If such information questions the feasibility of the valued goal, it must be cast out. Hence, many reforms tend to be pushed through in the train of ignorance. And ignorance of consequences exacts a price—the deflection of group goals. The larger the scope of the reform and the greater the ignorance of the consequences of the action, the greater will be the deflection from the pronounced goal. Thus, in part, may the failures of all large-scale reform movements be understood.²³

It would be far more intelligent if indi-

²³ There are other factors than purposive ignorance that frustrate group goals. One such important factor lies in the nature of organization. See Philip Selznick, "An approach to a theory of bureaucracy," *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, 1943, 8: 47-54.

viduals concerned with moral values became scientists in order to ascertain the conditions under which those values might be expected to be achieved than for would-be scientists to become moralists out of laziness, impatience, and the pressure of their desires. The latter is a comforting but historically fruitless course, the former path is far more difficult but also more promising.

In the meantime action that is well-intentioned but ignorant—ignorant of means and of consequences—has become more expensive. It is a truism that our society is an organic one, composed of diverse elements closely interlocked. Everything, it is said, is related. If this is so, the harmful consequences of ignorant action in one sphere will filter through all segments of the social order. The need is for knowledge. "People are almost never dangerous because of their wickedness," said Unamuno, "but because of their stupidity." And, one might add, because of their ignorance.

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The need for a more precise definition of the professional sociologist has been indicated. Three unrefined characteristics, it is felt, must comprise the criteria for defining a professional sociologist. They are specialized knowledge, skill, and function.

The present imprecise conception of a sociologist stems largely from a confusion of roles. This confusion of roles is abetted by two related but separable tendencies in American sociology represented by the "responsibility" sociologists and the "evaluationist" sociologists. The strength of these two confusing movements lies in our concern with directing social change. It is suggested that scientific social research would be a more useful guide for directing social change than is moralizing.

It is ironical that sociologists who speak of themselves as having a specialized area of knowledge in the study of occupations have not been able to perform an incisive job analysis of their own occupation. Members of the American Psychological Association are taking steps to assure the professional qualifications of individuals who seek to prac-

tice privately as "psychologists." I should like to see the American Sociological Society take similar action to define the minimum areas of knowledge, the research techniques, and the proper functions which denote a professional sociologist.

As part of this program it might be well

for the American Sociological Society to anticipate becoming a professional body similar to the American Psychological Association with membership open only to persons meeting the minimum requisites of a professional sociologist.

OFFICIAL REPORTS *and* PROCEEDINGS



REPORT OF NOMINATIONS AND ELECTION OF OFFICERS FOR THE YEAR 1948

In accordance with the provisions of the by-laws, I am transmitting herewith the report of the Committee on Nominations to the Society. The persons listed as having the highest number of votes are the duly elected officers for 1948.

In behalf of the Society I wish to thank James A. Quinn and his associates on the Committee on Nominations and the tellers for their services.

LOUIS WIRTH, *President*

To the President of the American Sociological Society:

I herewith submit the report of the Committee on Nominations covering the election of officers for the Society for 1948 and other matters for which the Committee was given responsibility.

The official ballot for the election of officers was mailed by the Secretary of the Society to all voting members on May 15. The nominees for the several elective offices were listed thereon as follows:

For President

E. Franklin Frazier
Talcott Parsons

For First Vice-President

Robert C. Angell
Richard T. LaPiere

For Second Vice-President

Herbert Blumer
T. Lynn Smith

For Members of Executive Committee

Ray E. Baber
Margaret J. Hagood
Frederick F. Stephan
Donald R. Young

For Assistant Editors of the Review

Gordon W. Blackwell
C. E. Gehlke
Clarence E. Glick
Paul H. Landis

Thirteen hundred and eighteen ballots were mailed, of which 810 (60%) were returned to the Chairman. Of these 782 returns, nineteen were ineligible because of improper identification, and fourteen were mailed after the deadline fixed by the By-Laws of the Society. Therefore, 777 valid votes were received.

Ballots were counted under the supervision of the Chairman of the Committee on Nominations, with the assistance of two tellers, C. Arnold Anderson and Perry P. Denune. The following persons were elected by clear majorities:

President

E. Franklin Frazier

First Vice-President

Robert C. Angell

Second Vice-President

Herbert Blumer

Members of Executive Committee

Margaret J. Hagood
Donald R. Young

Assistant Editors of the Review

Gordon W. Blackwell
Paul H. Landis

As a preliminary to selecting the nominees for the official ballot, the Committee conducted a poll of a ten per cent random sample of members. This sample was selected from a membership list arranged alphabetically by states and alphabetically by cities within each state. Envelopes addressed to members of the sample were supplied by the Secretary of the Society to the Chairman of the Committee on Nominations. The following letter was sent to members of the ten per cent sample together with a blank conveniently arranged for listing two or more suggested candidates for President, First Vice-President and Second Vice-President:

"Dear Colleague:

The Committee on Nominations of the American Sociological Society earnestly requests your help in securing the names of persons who should be considered for certain

offices of the Society in 1948. In order to assure that the Committee's slate of nominees will adequately represent the opinion of the total membership of the Society, the Nominating Committee is asking a ten per cent sample of the members to make recommendations to it. Your name appears on the list of this sample.

Will you please fill out the enclosed blank and return it promptly to the undersigned?

The list of members of the Society in the October, 1946, issue of the *Review* (pages 607-632) may aid you in recalling persons whose names you wish to suggest. You will also find in this issue a list of the current officers of the Society (page 606), of officers for last year (fly-leaf), and of additional persons who were nominated for offices last year (page 606)."

This letter was followed some two weeks later with another addressed to those members of the sample from whom no reply had been received:

"Dear Colleague:

I recently wrote to you asking your cooperation, as one of a ten per cent sample of members, in preparing a slate of candidates for offices in the American Sociological Society for 1948. I have not, as yet, received a reply from you.

The Committee on Nominations wishes to have a truly representative expression of opinion from the membership of the Society and, therefore, is desirous of obtaining as complete a return as possible from the sample that is being polled. Hence, this follow-up request.

If you have mailed your reply to me in the past week, please neglect this letter. If not, please send me your suggestions as soon as possible. I am enclosing another blank for your use in case the earlier one has gone astray."

A total of 99 replies (66%) was received from the ten per cent sample. Meanwhile the Chairman had polled members of the Committee by mail asking each to suggest at least two candidates for each position. These replies were combined with those received from the ten per cent sample and sent to members of the Committee for their guidance. This list was accompanied by a blank ballot and a letter which read, in part, as follows:

"Dear Colleague:

I am sending you herewith tabulations of lead-

ing candidates for offices in the American Sociological Society for 1948, as suggested by members of the Committee on Nominations and the ten per cent sample.

To date replies have been received from 99 persons of the ten per cent sample (66%) and twelve members of the Nominating Committee (80%). A considerable degree of spread has been found in these lists. For example, a total of 173 names have been suggested for the top three offices. With some duplication, 59 individuals have been suggested for President, 78 for First Vice-President and 114 for Second Vice-President. Only members of the Nominating Committee suggested persons for the Executive Committee and the Editorial Board. Of 48 total choices, 40 different names were suggested for the Executive Committee and 39 for the Editorial Board.

In preparing the accompanying lists for your guidance I have included only those who received at least three votes for President, three for First Vice-President, or two for Second Vice-President. For members of the Executive Committee and Editorial Board I included only persons who were listed as first and second choice. In the case of the top three offices, the persons whose names have been included in the list together received considerably more than a majority of the total votes cast for the respective offices.

I am enclosing another ballot blank for you to fill out using the enclosed list as a guide. You are not limited to the names contained on this list, but it seems improbable that we can get unanimity on names that have not already been suggested. In compiling your ballot, may I suggest the desirability of keeping regional distribution in mind?

I suggest the following procedure for our Committee. After receiving your ballots, I shall tabulate the results and eliminate the low men. The high men who are retained will in each case have received a majority of the total votes. This second tabulated list will then be circulated to the members of the Committee for the third vote, and this procedure continued until the final slate of candidates has received a majority of the Committee's vote. After your next ballot I shall write to all of the high men who are potential candidates for President, First Vice-President, Second Vice-President to ascertain whether each is willing to have his name placed in nomination for

the position indicated. This information will be transmitted to you for your further guidance. If this procedure is not satisfactory to you, will you let me know at once what changes should be made?"

The Committee agreed to the procedure suggested in this letter.

After results of the second ballot had been tabulated the chairman wrote to potential candidates for the offices of President, First Vice-President, and Second Vice-President to ascertain whether they would be willing to accept candidacy for the respective offices in case the Committee should select them. Information from their replies was sent to members of the Committee for their guidance. Four ballots were necessary to arrive at a complete slate of candidates acceptable to a majority of the members of the Committee.

The Chairman wishes to point out one weakness in the procedure outlined above and to suggest a remedy. The weakness lay in the fact that practically the whole work of the Committee was done by mail. This prevented the give-and-take of face-to-face discussion which is highly important to the proper functioning of a nominating committee. Because of the size of this committee and its wide distribution in space only one meeting is feasible—at the time of the Annual Meeting. Therefore, the Chairman respectfully suggests, to future presidents of the Society, that the Committee on Nominations should be organized well in advance of the Annual Meeting so that preliminary work can be done prior to that time and so that a tentative slate of candidates may be formulated in the course of face-to-face discussion at the Annual Meeting.

The Committee on Nominations was also asked to tabulate the results of a poll relative to the desirability of holding an Annual Meeting of the Society on the Pacific Coast. The Secretary of the Society formulated a question-

naire which was mailed with the official ballot. Results were tabulated by the tellers for the election, especially by C. Arnold Anderson, and the report was turned over to the Secretary of the Society for transmission to the Executive Committee.

Members of the Committee on Nominations were Ray E. Baber, Gordon W. Blackwell, Carroll D. Clark, Clyde W. Hart, A. J. Jaffe, J. W. Kolb, Ernest Manheim, Mary Schaufler, Elbridge Silbey, Samuel M. Strong, Edgar T. Thompson, George B. Vold, Walter T. Watson, and Leslie D. Zeleny.

Respectfully submitted,

JAMES A. QUINN, *Chairman*
Committee on Nominations

SECTION ON CONTRIBUTED PAPERS

President Louis Wirth is planning for a Section on Contributed Papers for the next annual meeting of the American Sociological Society to be held in New York from December 28 to 30. Although this Section is particularly designed for those younger members of the Society, including graduate students, who have not yet had an opportunity to appear on the program in other sections, contributions from other members of the Society will be welcome. Since this Committee is working closely with the Committee on Research, we are urging especially that members who have completed research papers suitable for oral presentation and which do not fall within the scope of other Sections be offered for consideration in the Section on Contributed Papers.

All papers must be in the hands of the Committee not later than November 1 in order that there may be adequate time to consider them carefully and make a selection of those to be presented at the meeting. Two copies of the manuscript should be sent directly to the Chairman of the Committee, Dr. Katharine Jocher, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

TENTATIVE PROGRAM OF THE FORTY-SECOND ANNUAL
MEETING, NEW YORK CITY, HOTEL COMMODORE,
DECEMBER 28-30, 1947

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 28, 9:00 A.M.-10:00 A.M.

Registration

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 28, 10:00 A.M.-12:00 M.

Research Methods, Raymond V. Bowers, Washington, D.C., Chairman.

Politics and International Relations, W. Rex Crawford, University of Pennsylvania, Chairman.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1:15 P.M.-3:15 P.M.

Sociological Theory, Talcott Parsons, Harvard University, Chairman.

Population, Philip M. Hauser, University of Chicago, Chairman.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 28, 3:30 P.M.-5:30 P.M.

Industrial Relations, Chairman to be announced.

Educational Sociology, Leslie D. Zeleny, Colorado State College, Chairman.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 29, 9:00 A.M.-11:00 A.M.

Social Disorganization and Social Problems, Francis B. Merrill, Dartmouth College, Chairman.

Public Opinion and Mass Attitudes, Clyde Hart, National Opinion Research Center, Chairman.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 29, 11:00 A.M.-12:00 M.

Business Meeting

MONDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1:15 P.M.-3:15 P.M.

Social Psychology, Herbert Goldhamer, University of Chicago, Chairman.

Contributed Papers, Katharine Jocher, University of North Carolina, Chairman.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 29, 3:30 P.M.-5:30 P.M.

Social Psychiatry, H. Warren Dunham, Wayne University, Chairman.

Racial and Cultural Relations, Leonard Bloom, University of California, Los Angeles, Chairman.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 29, 8:00 P.M.-10:00 P.M.

Presidential Address, Louis Wirth, University of Chicago.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 30, 9:00 A.M.-11:00 A.M.

The Family, Chairman to be announced.

Contributed Papers, Katharine Jocher, University of North Carolina, Chairman.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 30, 11:00 A.M.-12:00 M.

Business Meeting.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 30, 1:15 P.M.-3:15 P.M.

Ecology and Community, A. B. Hollingshead, Yale University, Chairman.

Contributed Papers, Katharine Jocher, University of North Carolina, Chairman.

CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

(Effective January 1, 1947)

ARTICLE I. NAME

Section 1. This Society shall be known as the American Sociological Society.

ARTICLE II. OBJECTS

Section 1. The objects of this Society shall be to stimulate and improve research, instruction and discussion, and to encourage cooperative relations among persons engaged in the scientific study of society.

ARTICLE III. MEMBERSHIP

Section 1. Any person interested in the objects of this Society shall be eligible to membership upon application to the Secretary. The forms of membership and the privileges and dues of members are set forth in By-Laws, Art. I.

ARTICLE IV. OFFICERS

Section 1. The officers of the Society shall be a President, a First Vice-President, a Second Vice-President, a Secretary, and a Treasurer. The President, First Vice-President and Second Vice-President shall be elected by the membership. (See By-Laws, Art. II, Sec. 1a.) The Secretary and Treasurer shall be selected by the Executive Committee and approved by the Society. (See By-Laws, Art. III, Sec. 2b.) The term of all officers shall be one year.

Section 2. The President of the Society shall preside at all business meetings of the Society. He shall be Chairman of the Executive Committee. He shall perform all duties assigned to him by the Society and the Executive Committee. In the event of his death, resignation, or absence, except as otherwise provided in this Constitution, his duties shall devolve successively upon the First Vice-President, the Second Vice-President, and the Secretary.

Section 3. The First Vice-President and the Second Vice-President shall be members of the Executive Committee, and may succeed to the duties of the President as provided in Section 2.

Section 4. The Treasurer shall receive, have the custody of, and disburse the funds of the Society, subject to the rules and orders of the Executive Committee.

Section 5. The Secretary shall keep the records of the Society, and perform such other duties as the Executive Committee may assign to him.

ARTICLE V. OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

Section 1. The Society shall maintain a journal entitled the *American Sociological Re-*

view, with a subtitle *The Official Journal of the American Sociological Society*. (See By-Laws, Art. V.)

ARTICLE VI. COMMITTEES AND BOARDS

Section 1. The Executive Committee shall be the permanent governing body of the Society except in so far as the Society delegates governmental functions to officers or to other committees independent of or in co-operation with the Executive Committee.

Section 2. The Executive Committee shall consist of the President, the two Vice-Presidents, past presidents for the first five consecutive years after the completion of their respective terms as President, six elected members whose terms shall be three years and two of which shall expire each year, and one representative from each of the major regional and affiliated societies. (See By-Laws, Art. IV, Sec. 6.) The terms of the representatives of the regional and affiliated societies shall be three years with approximately one-third being elected each year. The representatives of the regional and affiliated societies shall be selected by these societies.

Section 3. The Executive Committee shall have charge of the general interests of the Society, shall call regular and special meetings of the Society, shall establish sections of the Society, and shall have power to fill vacancies in its elective membership occasioned by death, resignation, or failure to elect, such appointees to hold office until the next annual meeting. Vacancies among the representatives of the regional or specialized societies shall be filled by the societies affected.

Section 4. One-third of the total membership of the Executive Committee shall constitute a quorum at regular annual meetings, and a majority vote of those members in attendance shall control its decisions.

Section 5. The Executive Committee shall constitute an Administration Committee from among its members each year. The administration Committee shall consist of the President, the Secretary and Treasurer of the Society, the Editor of the *American Sociological Review*, and three other members, one to be elected each year for a term of three years. The Administration Committee shall have all of the powers of the Executive Committee when the Executive Committee is not in session, subject to such general directions and instructions as the Ex-

ecutive Committee may choose to give, and the Administration Committee shall report to the Executive Committee any acts which require the approval of the Society.

Section 6. Temporary committees may be provided for by the Society, or by the Executive Committee between annual meetings.

Section 7. The Editorial Board shall be the permanent body of the Society having complete control and management, within the budget approved by the Executive Committee, of the *American Sociological Review* and any other publications of the Society not otherwise provided for, except in so far as the Society delegates functions related to publication to officers, or to other committees independent of or in co-operation with the Editorial Board.

Section 8. The President and Secretary of the Society shall be respectively *ex officio* Chairman and Secretary of the Editorial Board. In the absence of either or both, the Editorial Board shall elect a Chairman and Secretary *pro tem*. In event of a vacancy on the Editorial Board, it shall be filled by the Editorial Board until the next annual meeting of the Society.

ARTICLE VII. ELECTIONS

Section 1. All officers of the Society except the Secretary and Treasurer, the six members of the Executive Committee representing the Society, and the six assistant editors of the *American Sociological Review* shall be elected by mail ballot by a majority vote of the members of the Society. (See By-Laws, Art. II.) The Secretary and Treasurer of the Society and the Editor and Managing Editor of the *American Sociological Review* shall be elected by the Executive Committee, subject to the approval of the Society.

ARTICLE VIII. MEETINGS AND SESSIONS

Section 1. The term "business meeting," as used in the Constitution and By-Laws of the Society, shall refer to a gathering of the Society or of any subordinate body of the Society at which business is transacted. The term "session" shall refer to a gathering for the purpose of presenting a program of papers and discussion.

Section 2. The term "annual meetings" shall be used to include both business meetings and sessions. The Society shall hold its annual meetings during a period of consecutive days, at a time and place determined by the Executive Committee.

Section 3. The Society shall hold annually two

or more business meetings at which it shall transact its business.

ARTICLE IX. SPECIAL FUNDS AND ENDOWMENTS

Section 1. The Society, the Executive Committee, or such other committees as it or the Society may designate specifically for the purpose, may solicit, receive and invest funds, and the income therefrom, for special purposes designed to further the research or other interests of the Society. Expenditure of such funds shall be authorized by the Society upon recommendation of the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE X. AMENDMENTS

Section 1. The Constitution may be amended by vote of two thirds of those present and voting at any annual meeting.

Section 2. Amendments may be proposed by the Executive Committee, a special committee appointed for the purpose of revising the Constitution, or upon petition to the Secretary by ten members of the Society.

Section 3. All proposed amendments to the Constitution shall be published in a number of the *Review* appearing at least fifty days prior to the annual meeting.

BY-LAWS

ARTICLE I. MEMBERSHIP AND DUES

Section 1. The membership of the Society shall consist of the following classes: Active, Associate, Joint, Student, Life, Honorary, and Emeritus. Except as hereinafter specified the dues for membership in the Society shall be six dollars per annum, payable in advance, without initiation fee. Each member shall be entitled to one subscription to the *Review*. All members except Associate, Honorary, and Student members shall be eligible to vote and to hold office.

Section 2. To be eligible for Active membership an applicant must either (a) have received the Ph.D. Degree in Sociology, or (b) have received a Master's Degree in Sociology and have had at least two years of graduate study or of professional experience in teaching, research or practice in Sociology after receiving the Master's Degree in Sociology, or (c) have received the Ph.D., or its equivalent, in a closely related field, such as Anthropology, Psychology, Economics, or Political Science, and have had at least one year of professional experience in teaching, research or practice properly classified as sociological, or (d) be elected

by the Executive Committee upon nomination by the Classification Committee because of their contributions to Sociology.

Section 3. Registered undergraduate and graduate students in residence at educational institutions who have not completed all requirements for the Ph.D. and who are sponsored by a member of the Society, may be admitted to Student membership in the Society upon the payment in advance of three dollars per annum. This membership shall include one subscription to the *Review* and the right to attend all meetings of the Society, except business sessions, but not the right to vote or hold office.

Section 4. Any Active or Associate member of the Society may become a Donor by the payment of dues of ten dollars or more per annum.

Section 5. Any Active member of the Society may become a Life member by the single payment of one hundred dollars. Life members shall have the rights and privileges of membership.

Section 6. Any Active member of the Society when retired by his institution, provided that he has paid dues to the Society continuously for at least twenty years, may become an Emeritus member of the Society. Emeritus members pay no dues but shall have all the rights and privileges of membership.

Section 7. Honorary membership in the Society may be conferred upon any person by election at any annual meeting of the Society upon nomination by the Executive Committee. Honorary members shall have all the rights and privileges of membership, but shall not carry the privilege of voting or holding office.

Section 8. Any person interested in study, teaching, or research in Sociology may apply for Associate membership in the Society. An Associate member shall be entitled to one subscription to the *Review* and to attend all meetings of the Society, except business sessions, but shall not vote or hold office.

Section 9. Joint membership in the categories for which they are eligible may be taken out by a husband and wife upon payment of dues of seven dollars per annum, both of whom shall have all the rights and privileges of membership in the Society, provided that they shall together be entitled to one subscription of the *Review*.

Section 10. Decisions concerning eligibility for membership in any class and recommendations for election of Honorary members shall be made by the Classification Committee.

Section 11. Persons who on January 1, 1947

are Honorary or Emeritus members shall be continued in their present categories. Those who are student members on that date shall be permitted to continue as such so long as they may be eligible. Those who are then members or joint members shall be classified as Active members.

ARTICLE II. ELECTIONS AND VOTING

Section 1. All officers of the Society elected by the membership at large shall be selected by a mail ballot for a term of one year. Officers and members of the Executive Committee shall begin their term of office at the close of the annual business meeting of the Society in the year during which they were elected.

a. The Committee on Nominations shall select two names each for the offices of President, First Vice-President, and Second Vice-President, and four names each of the two annual vacancies in the Executive Committee and the two Assistant Editors of the *Review*. These names shall be placed on a printed ballot with one blank space for direct nominations from the membership for each of the presidencies, and two blank spaces each for additional nominations to the Executive Committee and the Assistant Editorships. These ballots shall be sent to the membership of the Society by first class mail by May 15 of each year. To be valid as votes they must be signed by the member voting and returned to the Chairman of the Committee on Nominations not later than June 15.

b. Any person whose name is written in for a particular office by at least one tenth of those returning ballots, and in no case by less than twenty-five persons, shall be considered as nominated for that office. The Committee on Nominations shall then prepare a second ballot containing the names of the candidates for each office nominated by the Committee and those nominated by mail. This ballot shall be sent to the membership by July 15 and to be valid shall be returned to the Chairman of the Committee on Nominations by August 15 of each year.

c. In case no names are written in for any office, or in the event that any name written in is found on less than one tenth of the ballots returned, the results of the first ballot shall determine the election for that office.

d. In either the first or final balloting for the presidents, the person receiving the largest number of votes shall be considered as elected; in the case of the balloting for the members of the Executive Committee and the Assistant

Editors, the two receiving the highest number of votes shall be declared elected in each case. In case of a tie vote the Administration Committee shall decide by lot between the tied candidates. In case of the death, resignation, or inability to serve of any officer elected before the next annual meeting, the nominee receiving the next highest number of votes for that office shall be declared elected.

e. All ballots cast together with all pertinent data and records of the Committee on Nominations shall be submitted to the President of the Society immediately after the report of the Committee has been completed and, if found to be satisfactory, shall be certified by him to the Society in business meeting as true and accurate. The Secretary shall hold in safe custody for a period of at least eighteen months all such ballots, data, and records of the Committee on Nominations.

f. The report of the Committee on Nominations shall be published in the last issue of the Review preceding the annual meeting.

Section 2. All members whose dues for the current year have been paid by May 1, as certified by the Treasurer, shall be sent ballots for the election by mail. The address of the member as last reported to the Secretary shall be used, and a ballot mailed to such address shall constitute notification. All members of the Society at business meetings may vote as prescribed herein by the By-Laws.

Section 3. The Secretary shall record the results of the mail ballot and all other voting by the Society.

ARTICLE III. COMMITTEES AND BOARDS

Section 1. Nominating Committee.

The President of the Society shall appoint a Committee on Nominations consisting of fifteen members. There shall be at least one representative from each of the regional and special societies named in Article IV, Section 6 of the By-Laws on the Committee. Not less than four or more than five of the members shall be continued from the committee of the previous year.

Section 2. Executive Committee.

a. The Executive Committee may create such temporary committees of its own or of the Society, not provided in the Constitution, as may seem useful for promoting the work of the Society. Such *ad interim* committees shall report to the Society at the next annual meeting.

b. The Executive Committee shall elect the

Secretary, the Treasurer, the Editor, and the Managing Editor of the *American Sociological Review*, subject to the approval of the Society.

c. The Executive Committee may combine the offices of Secretary, Treasurer, and Managing Editor of the *Review* as may seem useful for promoting the work of the Society, subject to the approval of the Society.

d. The Executive Committee shall report to the Society at the next annual meeting the details of any *ad interim* action taken by it.

e. All recommendations by the Executive Committee for the co-operation of the Society with other societies and associations, and all nominations by it of representatives from this Society to other societies and associations with which it is in active co-operation must be submitted to the Society for approval at the next annual meeting *provided* that temporary vacancies among representatives occurring in the interim of annual meetings of the Society may be filled by the Administration Committee of the Executive Committee to serve until the next annual meeting of the Society.

f. All recommendations or nominations of the Executive Committee to the Society shall be submitted in open business meeting singly and separately for action by the Society.

g. In case of a vacancy in the Office of Secretary or Treasurer occurring in the interim of annual meetings, the Administration Committee of the Executive Committee shall fill this office, the appointment being effective without action of the Society until regular action is taken at the next annual meeting.

h. All action of the Administration Committee of the Executive Committee of continuing significance must be reported to the Executive Committee and to the Society at the next annual meeting.

i. In time of war or other national emergency the Executive Committee may suspend the holding of annual meetings or other regular activities of the Society when such action is deemed to be in accord with the national interest.

j. In the event of the suspension of the annual meeting, all actions of the Executive Committee or its Administration Committee which would normally be reported to the Society for its approval shall be published in the next number of the *American Sociological Review*, under Proceedings, and shall form a part of the Official Proceedings of the Society unless and until revised by action of the Society at the next annual meeting.

k. All motions for the creation of new committees or affecting the policy of the Society shall be referred to the Executive Committee for its recommendation. The Executive Committee shall report its recommendation concerning such motions at the next business session of the Society.

Section 3. Program Committee.

a. The Program Chairman shall be composed of the President, Secretary, and Editor of the *American Sociological Review*, with the President serving as chairman.

b. The Program Committee shall meet upon the call of its chairman.

c. The new Program Committee of each year shall submit to the Administration Committee a list of sections to be recognized in the program of that year. This list shall be published in the first issue of the *Review* following the annual meeting. To give flexibility to the Program and recognition to developing interests of the membership of the Society, upon petition of at least twenty-five members to the Secretary by April 1 and with the approval of the Administration Committee, other sections may be added to the program of the following annual meeting.

d. The Program Committee shall appoint the chairman of sections or of specific programs of the annual meeting.

Section 4. The Executive Committee shall elect a Classification Committee of three to serve three years each, except that when the Committee is first established one member shall be elected for one year, one for two years and one for three years. In collaboration with the Secretary the Classification Committee shall devise procedures for passing on future applications for membership.

Section 5. Standing Committees.

a. The functions of the Society of a continuing nature not provided for elsewhere in the Constitution or By-Laws shall be conducted by such standing committees as the Society may vote.

b. The Committee on Research shall have specific responsibility for the planning and promotion of the research activities of the Society. Early in each year, it shall take a census of research carried on by members of the Society, publish its findings in a summer number of the *Review*, and also make them available to the section chairmen.

c. The Membership Committee, whose members shall be representative of the various

geographic areas of the country, shall solicit membership in the Society.

d. The Committee on Public Relations shall be responsible for publicizing the activities of the Society and conducting relations with the press.

Section 6. Resolutions Committee. All resolutions shall be referred to the Resolutions Committee before submission to the vote of the Society.

ARTICLE IV. RELATION TO REGIONAL AND OTHER AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS

Section 1. Regional sociological societies whose organization includes members from part of at least five states and the District of Columbia, other national societies concerned with specialized phases or applications of sociology, and local sociological societies consisting of at least ten members at least half of whom must be at all times members of the American Sociological Society, may affiliate with the American Sociological Society. The regional and affiliated sociological societies noted in the By-Laws, Art. IV, Sec. 6 below shall be entitled to one representative on the Executive Committee of the American Sociological Society. Such representative must be a member of the Society.

Section 2. The Secretary, with the approval of the Executive Committee, is authorized to issue a charter to regional, specialized, and local societies, hereinafter known as affiliated organizations. Applications for the affiliation of such organizations with the American Sociological Society shall be in a form prescribed by the Executive Committee. Societies already affiliated shall not lose their affiliation under this section.

Section 3. In the event that an affiliated organization meets at the same time and place as the American Sociological Society, the program of the affiliated organization must be coordinated with that of the American Sociological Society insofar as is possible by mutual agreement.

Section 4. In the event that the Executive Committee of the American Sociological Society finds that the conditions of affiliation are not being fulfilled by any given affiliated organization, or that such affiliation is no longer to the best interests of the American Sociological Society, the Executive Committee may recommend to the Society a termination of the affiliation, and, if such recommendation is approved by a majority vote of the members present at any duly authorized business meeting of the Society,

such affiliation shall be terminated.

Section 5. Affiliation of societies other than those above specified is hereby authorized when approved by a two-thirds vote of the members present at any authorized business meeting of the American Sociological Society, provided the petition for such affiliation shall have been made to the Society at least one year prior to final action. Such societies shall not have representation on the Executive Committee of the American Sociological Society unless approved by the Society upon recommendation by the Executive Committee petition to the Executive Committee by at least twenty-five members of the Society.

Section 6. The regional and other affiliated societies having representation on the Executive Committee are the Southern Sociological Society, Eastern Sociological Society, Southwestern Sociological Society, Ohio Valley Sociological Society, Mid-West Sociological Society, Pacific Sociological Society, Rural Sociological Society, and the District of Columbia Chapter of the American Sociological Society.

Section 7. Affiliated organizations shall be entitled to the opportunity to publish notices of their activities in the *Review*.

ARTICLE V. THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW AND THE EDITORIAL BOARD

Section 1. The Editorial Board shall meet upon the call of its chairman, or of a majority of its members.

Section 2. The Editorial Board of the Society shall be composed of the President and Secretary of the Society, an Editor and a Managing Editor to be elected by the Executive Committee, subject to the approval of the Society, for two-year terms (the term of Editor to begin with Number 2 of the volume of the *American Sociological Review* of the year for which he is elected, and the term of the Managing Editor to begin June 30 of the year for which he is elected), and six additional members, known as Assistant Editors, elected by the Society for three-year terms, two of which shall expire each year.

Section 3. The Editor shall have jurisdiction over the editorial management and policies of the *Review* subject to the limitations of Sec. 5 below; he shall prepare or approve all copy for publication; he shall have the authority to appoint such associate, contributing, book-review, or special-issue editors as he may deem necessary; and he shall exercise such other responsibilities and perform such other duties

as are usually incumbent upon such officer.

Section 4. The Managing Editor shall have jurisdiction over and attend to the business details of the *Review* such as contracts for publication, soliciting and contracting advertisements, making outlays indispensable to the editorial and business management, etc.

Section 5. The final jurisdiction in matters of editorial policy or of business management shall rest with the Editorial Board, which shall have the power to reverse the decisions either of the Editor or of the Managing Editor by a majority vote.

Section 6. The financial expenditures made by the Editorial Board shall not exceed the budget approved by the Executive Committee.

Section 7. It should be recognized by the members of the Society that the acceptance of a place on the program of the annual meeting, both general and sectional, shall confer first publication rights on the Society for the paper as presented and obligate the author to prepare the paper in form suitable for publication. This publication right, on the request of the author, may be waived by the Editor. The Editor shall have the right to reject for publication any paper which he considers less significant than other papers available.

Section 8. The Editorial Board shall have the power (a) to establish special subscription rates to the *Review* for members and students not now covered by Article I of the By-Laws and special rates to libraries and the members of other organizations; (b) to make special arrangements with agencies for the sale of subscriptions; (c) to determine and arrange exchanges; (d) to sell back numbers; (e) to arrange for bound and unbound sets of the former *Proceedings* and the present *Review*; (f) to negotiate arrangements for special rates to other sociological journals for members of the Society; and (g) to carry on other activities incidental to the distribution of the *Review*, subject to the approval of the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE VI. BUDGET, FINANCE, AND AUDIT

Section 1. The Executive Committee shall annually select a Committee on Budget and Investment which, in co-operation with the President, Treasurer, and Managing Editor of the *Review*, shall make a budget for the ensuing fiscal year covering all expenditures of the Society, including the publication of the *Review*, and shall supervise and approve all investment

and banking activities of the Society. The budget shall be approved by the Executive Committee.

Section 2. A bond in the amount of five thousand dollars (\$5,000.00), the cost of which is borne by the Society, shall be required of the Treasurer or other officer or appointee controlling the funds of the Society.

Section 3. The books of the Society shall be audited at the conclusion of each fiscal year by a certified public accountant approved by the Executive Committee. Said report should be published in the *Review*.

ARTICLE VII. AMENDMENTS

Section 1. Amendments to these By-Laws may be proposed by any member of the Society, and

adoption shall require a majority vote of the members present and voting at any annual meeting of the Society. In the event of the suspension of the annual meeting (as provided in Article III, Section 2, i), the Executive Committee may, upon two-thirds vote of its members, submit amendments to the By-Laws to the members of the Society by mail ballots, after publication in the *American Sociological Review*, and such amendments shall be adopted upon a two-thirds vote of the members voting within thirty days.

Section 2. No vote on any amendment to the By-Laws shall be taken until the amendment has been read and has lain on the table until a subsequent business meeting.

MEMBERSHIP LIST FOR 1947

The numbers and symbols after the names indicate the classes of members: (1) Active, (2) Associate, (3) Student, (4) Life, (5) Honorary, (6) Emeritus, * Joint, † Donor.

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CURRENT ITEMS

NOTES ON RESEARCH AND TEACHING

THE BROWNSTONE TOWER*

F. L. CAMPBELL

As a layman in the social sciences, I should like to discuss the current situation in that field as it looks to me from my bay-window substitute for the Brownstone Tower. Social scientists are in an uncomfortable position. In the present precarious state of the world they know that their subjects should be more important for the future of the human race than any of the natural sciences. But they cannot yet convince natural scientists, or the public, or even themselves that they *are* scientists and can use the scientific method on human problems in an unbiased and potentially fruitful manner. They seem to be frustrated in their public relations, and their offerings to the *Scientific Monthly* are characteristically argumentative, insisting, with theoretical reasonableness, that since man is a part of nature, students of human society should be regarded as natural scientists. There is no question that they have performed in the manner of natural scientists in their studies of cultures of the past and those of contemporary backward peoples, but it remains to be proved, at least in the *Scientific Monthly*, that they have demonstrated their capacity to act as natural scientists in studies of current problems of so-called civilized societies.

While social scientists are trying desperately to secure public recognition as natural scientists and to gain public confidence, they are continually being embarrassed by encroachments into their own fields by natural scientists, clergymen, philosophers, politicians, and, in fact, any literate persons who think that the world is out of joint and offer remedies that some editor will accept. For example, in the May issue of the SM appeared a review of a book by Roger J. Williams, a well-known chemist, on "humanics;" and in the same issue was reviewed a book by Lecomte du Nôuy, an equally well-known biophysicist, on human destiny. No social scientist would write a book on a new system of organic chemistry; why, he must wonder fretfully, would a chemist write a book on social engi-

neering? The answer, I think, is that everyone in a democracy is expected to have opinions on social questions. Lay opinions of prominent, intelligent citizens will continue to be published and read until social scientists prove by their works and the results of their works that they are as uniquely competent in their fields as organic chemists are in theirs.

I do not intend, as yet, to limit articles on social-scientific questions in the SM to those written by social scientists, but I do want to encourage them to write for the SM. I want to publish articles by them that will bear evidence of true research and that can thereby be distinguished from inspirational and philosophical writing backed by no conscious research. I want to help them both by getting better articles on social science and by excluding unworthy articles. To that end I have welcomed and accepted an offer of cooperation from the American Sociological Society. Dr. Louis Wirth, President of that society, has appointed the following special committee to advise me: Alfred McClung Lee, Wayne University, Chairman; Calvert L. Dedrick and Abraham Jaffe, Washington, D.C.

Finally, I am in favor of including a Division of Social Science in the proposed National Science Foundation. If social scientists can demonstrate that they are natural scientists, they can do so more effectively working with physical and biological scientists than apart from them.

NOTE ON THE SCIENCE FOUNDATION BILL IN THE 80TH CONGRESS

TALCOTT PARSONS

Harvard University

On August 6, 1947, by withholding his approval of S 526, the National Science Foundation Bill, President Truman closed another chapter in the complicated effort to secure a new level of organization of federal support for scientific research in the United States. It will be remembered that the former bill, S 1850, had failed of passage in the final session of the Seventy-ninth Congress because, though passed by the Senate, the House Committee failed to report out a corresponding bill.¹

¹ For an analysis of the history of this bill and the issues involved in it see Talcott Parsons, "The Science Legislation and the Role of the Social Sciences," this *Review*, December 1946.

* Reprinted with kind permission of *Scientific Monthly* from its June, 1947 issue, page 536.

In the first session of the new Congress on February 7, 1947, Senator H. Alexander Smith of New Jersey introduced S 526 in collaboration with Senators Cordon, Revercomb, Saltonstall, Magnuson and Fulbright. In its original form the bill provided for a foundation of 48 members to be appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate for a term of eight years. They should consist of recognized leaders in the field of the fundamental sciences, medicine, education, engineering, or public affairs, and were to serve on a part-time basis not requiring their withdrawal from private occupations. The President in making nominations was requested to give due consideration to recommendations of the National Academy of Sciences or other scientific or educational organizations. The Chairman of the Foundation was to be elected by these 48 members with a temporary chairman designated by the President until an election could take place.

According to this bill the functions of the Foundation would be to initiate and support basic scientific research in the mathematical, physical, medical, biological, engineering and other sciences, to initiate research in connection with national defense, to grant scholarships and graduate fellowships, to foster interchange of scientific information among scientists in the United States and foreign countries, and to correlate the Foundation's research programs with those undertaken by individuals and public and private research groups. It provided for divisions of medical research, mathematical and engineering sciences, biological sciences, national defense and scientific personnel and education. It empowered the Foundation to establish new divisions if they should be deemed necessary.

Hearings were held before the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare of the Senate. As a result of the hearings and subsequent negotiations the bill as finally passed by the Senate had been modified to reduce the number of members of the Foundation from 48 to 24 and to secure that the Director should be appointed by the President instead of being elected by the members of the Foundation. On the floor of the Senate, Senator Fulbright offered an amendment to establish a division of social science research but this amendment was decisively defeated. There was, however, in the bill as passed by Congress, no explicit prohibition of the establishment of a division of social science or of other forms of support of social science research. The power of the Foundation to engage in such support was covered by the formula "and other sciences." In the House, however, the changes

made in the original bill were eliminated except that the number of the members of the Foundation remained at 24. The House thus provided that the Director should be elected by the Foundation. This version was upheld by the conference committee and was in the bill as finally passed and sent to the President. The fact that it contained this provision was the primary reason why President Truman vetoed the bill.

To quote from the veto message:

This bill contains provisions which represent such a marked departure from sound principles in the administration of public affairs that I cannot give it my approval. It would in effect vest the determination of vital national policy, of the expenditure of large public funds and the administration of important governmental functions, in a group of individuals who would be essentially private citizens. The proposed National Science Foundation would be divorced from control by the people to an extent that implies a distinct lack of faith in democratic processes.

The participation of scientific groups in working toward a science foundation in the recent session of Congress centered in an inter-association committee which was sponsored by the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Each of about 125 constituent societies, including the American Sociological Society, was invited to send two delegates to this committee. President E. E. Day of Cornell University was elected Chairman of the committee, Professor Harlow Shapley, Vice Chairman, and Dael Wolfe, Executive Secretary of the American Psychological Association, was elected Secretary. The small executive committee of this group was in continual touch with the legislative process and tried to insure that interests of science would be properly taken care of in the bill.

The inter-society committee showed a substantial majority in favor of inclusion of the social sciences within the scope of the Foundation. There was, however, no strong pressure to make this inclusion take the form of provision for a separate division in the bill. Rather an effort was made to keep the door open so that no explicit exclusion should take place. The Senate action showed that when this issue was specifically raised the predominant Congressional sentiment was against explicit provision for the social sciences. It can certainly be said, however, that the major issue in defeating the bill was that of the administrative organization. Important groups within the administration felt strongly that an organization which did not permit the President to exercise fundamental control over the policy of the agency was not administratively

sound. None of these groups, so far as is known, was opposed to the fundamental idea of a National Science Foundation. On the contrary, there is a general feeling that the issue will be kept alive and a strong hope that an acceptable bill can be secured in the not-distant future. This hope was expressed in the President's message.

The role of the social sciences in any future bill is of course much more problematical. It is an entirely open question whether it will be possible to secure formal recognition for this role at such a time. It is, however, greatly to be hoped that no formal exclusion will be enacted when a new bill comes before Congress.

From the time when the issue of the establishment of a National Science Foundation was first publicly posed by the publication of the "Bush Report" in the summer of 1945, the main initiative in representing the interests of the social sciences has been taken by the Social Science Research Council. The Council, for instance, organized the pre-presentation of the case for the social sciences at the hearings on the Kilgore and Magnuson bills in the fall of 1945. As a further step in implementing this important responsibility the Council established in the fall of 1946 a Committee on Social Science Research and the Federal Government² under the Chairmanship of Robert M. Yerkes, Professor Emeritus of Psychology at Yale University. This Committee has, as announced in *Items*, the organ of the Council, undertaken to sponsor a survey of the entire field of the relation of social science research to the public interest, including though not confined to, its possible role in the activities of the Federal Government.

This report is being prepared by the author of the present note and should help to define the problem of the possible or desirable relations of the social sciences to a national science foundation by the time the issue again becomes important in the Congress.

² The other members of the Committee are: Monsignor John M. Cooper, Talcott Parsons, Don K. Price, Frederick M. Stephan, Frederick V. Waugh, A. H. Williams, Dael Wolfe.

COMMUNICATION AND OPINION

A NOTE ON "THE MEASUREMENT OF ECOLOGICAL SEGREGATION" BY JULIUS JAHN, CALVIN F. SCHMID, AND CLARENCE SCHRAG*

The article, "The Measurement of Ecological Segregation" by Julius Jahn, Calvin F. Schmid, and

* *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 12, June 1947, pp. 293-303.

Clarence Schrag, illustrates some loose procedures of index construction which arise from a too uncritical preoccupation with operationalism. The centering of attention upon operational definition apparently led the authors to dismiss the more central aspects of segregation, such as spatial pattern and its correlates, and to concentrate overly upon the very limited problem of measurement of the extent to which census tracts are exclusively White or Negro. Such delimitation of the field is legitimate provided it is recognized as such, but when the authors claim to have formulated twenty different indices, each supposedly serving a different sociological purpose in the measurement of tract homogeneity, it can be doubted that they realize how extremely narrow their field of operation is. It can be shown that three of the four indices advanced in their article are logically redundant, since all four indices measure essentially the same difference between proportions and differ only in the ease and efficiency with which they measure that difference.

First, consider their index I_4 . It can be shown that:

$$I_4 = \sum_{j=\rho}^{\kappa} (\eta_{aj} - \eta_{bj})$$

where ρ is determined by including in the interval from ρ to κ all $(\eta_{aj} - \eta_{bj})$ where $\eta_{aj} > \eta_{bj}$ and where η_{aj} = proportion of the Negro population in tract j
 η_{bj} = proportion of the White population in tract j
 κ = number of tracts

Now their index I_3 can be written as follows:

$$I_3 = \sum_{j=1}^n \left(\eta_{aj} \sum_{i=1}^{j-1} \eta_{bi} - \eta_{bj} \sum_{i=1}^{j-1} \eta_{ai} \right)$$

subject to the condition that $\eta_{aj} > \eta_{a(j-1)}$. It is obvious that I_3 and I_4 have the same form, that is, both are sums of the differences between proportions. For I_4 , the summation is restricted to a specified sub-set of the j . For I_3 , the summation is not restricted because the $\sum_{i=1}^{j-1} \eta_{bi}$ and $\sum_{i=1}^{j-1} \eta_{ai}$ act as weights which minimize the differences $(\eta_{aj} \sum_{i=1}^{j-1} \eta_{bi} - \eta_{bj} \sum_{i=1}^{j-1} \eta_{ai})$ when $\eta_{aj} < \eta_{bj}$, and emphasize the differences when $\eta_{aj} > \eta_{bj}$. The net effect, when we take into account the general form of the distribution of η_{aj} and η_{bj} , is that I_3 and I_4 are practically identical measures. It is not surprising that the authors found a high correlation between them. At the present stage of measurement in the social sciences, what possible sociological purpose could I_3 fulfill that I_4 could not, and vice versa? One or the other is surely redundant.

Second, consider their index I_1 . It can be shown that:

$$I_1 = \frac{N}{N_a N_b} \sum_{i=1}^q N_{ai} - \frac{N_b}{N_a}$$

where N = total population in city
 N_a = total Negro population
 N_b = total White population
 N_{ai} = number of Negroes in tract i
 and where q is determined by the joint condition

¹ Space does not permit the printing of the algebraic demonstrations of any of the formulas in this note, however the demonstrations may be obtained from the writer on request.

that $\sum_{i=q}^{\kappa} N_{ai} + \sum_{i=q}^{\kappa} N_{bi} = N_a$ and that $\frac{N_{a(i+1)}}{N_{b(i+1)}} > \frac{N_{ai}}{N_{bi}}$. But

their index I_2 can be written as:

$$I_2 = \left[\frac{\sum_{i=1}^{\kappa} \left(\frac{N_{ai}}{N_i} \right)^2 - \frac{1}{\kappa} \left(\sum_{i=1}^{\kappa} \frac{N_{ai}}{N_i} \right)^2}{\sum_{i=1}^{\kappa} \left(\frac{N_{bi}}{N_i} \right)^2 - \frac{1}{\kappa} \left(\sum_{i=1}^{\kappa} \frac{N_{bi}}{N_i} \right)^2} \right]^{1/2}$$

where $N_i = N_{ai} + N_{bi}$.

If we assume that N_i is a constant and equals N/κ , a not entirely unrealistic assumption, since the census tracts were designed to contain about equal numbers, I_2 can be written:

$$I_2 = \left[\frac{\kappa \sum_{i=1}^{\kappa} N_{ai}^2}{N_a N_b} - \frac{N_a}{N_b} \right]^{1/2}$$

The similarity of form between I_1 and I_2 is obvious, and a high correlation between I_1 and I_2 should not be surprising. The $\sum_{i=1}^{\kappa} N_{ai}^2$ emphasizes just those extreme values which $\sum_{i=q}^{\kappa} N_{ai}$ contains. Again, sociological purpose is not yet so far advanced in the problem of segregation as to require such subtle distinctions as exist between I_1 and I_2 . One or the other is redundant.

Finally, reconsider their index I_1 . As they define it:

$$I_1 = \frac{N_{1a}}{N_a} - \frac{N_{1b}}{N_b}$$

where $N_{1a} = \sum_{i=q}^{\kappa} N_{ai}$ and $N_{1b} = \sum_{i=q}^{\kappa} N_{bi}$ and where

the $\frac{N_{ai}}{N_{ai} + N_{bi}}$ from $i=q$ to κ are greater than the re-

maining $\frac{N_{ai}}{N_{ai} + N_{bi}}$, or $\frac{N_{ai}}{N_{ai} + N_{bi}} > T$, say, where q and

T are determined by the condition that $N_{1a} + N_{1b} = N_a$. Now I_4 can be written as:

$$I_4 = \frac{N'_{1a}}{N_a} - \frac{N'_{1b}}{N_b}$$

where

$$N'_{1a} = \sum_{i=q}^{\kappa} N_{aij}; \quad N'_{1b} = \sum_{i=q}^{\kappa} N_{bij}$$

for j such that

$$\frac{N_{aij}}{N_{aij} + N_{bij}} > \frac{N_a}{N_a + N_b}$$

The similarity of this form to I_1 is obvious. It can be shown that N_{1a} and N_{1b} are sub-series of N'_{1a} ; and N_{1b} respectively. Consequently I_1 is always less than or, at best, equal to I_4 . Thus I_1 is only an incomplete measure of I_4 , and involves a loss of information in return for the doubtful advantage of varying between zero and one.

Therefore indices I_1 , I_2 , I_3 and I_4 are for practical purposes identical measures. The subtle distinctions between them have no correlates in the sociological

problem of segregation. Of the set of indices, only one, I_4 , emerges as worthy of consideration, and that because of its simplicity. It can be written in the form:

$$I_4 = \frac{1}{2} \sum_{i=1}^{\kappa} |\eta_{ai} - \eta_{bi}|$$

where the vertical bars indicate that the sign of the difference is to be ignored.

However, I_4 does not vary between zero and one, as the authors claim. Consider the following example. Suppose $N_{1a}' = 50$; $N_{1b}' = 20$; $N_a = 100$; $N_b = 200$. These numbers can be arrayed in a 2×2 table as follows:

	Negro	White
Area 1	50	20
Area 2	50	180
	100	200

$$I_4 = \frac{50}{100} - \frac{20}{200} = .4$$

The maximum value that I_4 can attain is conditioned by the fact that only 70 people live in Area 1. The following table illustrates the maximum segregation possible:

	Negro	White
Area 1	70	0
Area 2	30	200
	100	200

$$I_4 (\text{max.}) = \frac{70}{100} - \frac{0}{200} = .7$$

Thus even I_4 is not such a direct and uncomplicated measure of segregation as the operational definition given by the authors would imply.

RICHARD A. HORNSETH

University of Wisconsin

NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

Marriage Hygiene (The International Journal of Sex and Sex Problems) resumed publication in August under the editorship of Dr. A. P. Pillay of Bombay. Contributions are desired from doctors, psychologists and sociologists whose research has to do with various aspects of sex. The address is Whiteaway Building, Bombay 1, India.

Alpha Kappa Delta. The following are the new national officers of this honorary sociological fraternity: President, Emory S. Bogardus, University of Southern California; First Vice-President, T. Earl Sullenger, University of Omaha; Second Vice-President, John F. Cuber, Ohio State University; Secretary-Treasurer, Florence W. Schaper, Lindenwood College; members of the Executive Committee, Lowry Nelson, University of Minnesota, Paul H. Landis, State College of Washington, and R. R. Martin, Editor, *The Quarterly*, Hamline University.

Julius Rosenwald Fund. Edwin R. Embree, President, announced that since the Fund is closing

its work next June, this is the last year that Rosenwald Fellowships will be available. Awards are made to Negroes and to white Southerners who wish to work on some problem distinctive to the South and who expect to make their careers in the South. Applications for fellowships with all required materials must be submitted in the prescribed form by January 1, 1948. Blanks may be secured from Mrs. Hilde Reitzes, for the Committee on Fellowships, 4901 Ellis Avenue, Chicago 15, Illinois.

The Midwestern Sociological Society held its annual meeting on April 25, 26, 27, 1947, at Des Moines, Iowa. President T. Earl Sullenger, of the Municipal University of Omaha, was in charge. He and Professor J. W. Albig, University of Illinois, had prepared the program for the meetings which were well attended. The major themes were: content and techniques of introductory courses; research on the Midwest; current trends in some major fields in sociology; and sociology and general education.

The officers of the Society for 1947-48 are: President, Lloyd V. Ballard, Beloit College; 1st Vice-President, H. W. Saunders, State University of Iowa; Donald O. Cowgill, University of Wichita, Secretary-Treasurer.

The Midwest Student Society was reorganized by Miss Marguerite Reuss, Marquette University. They had a separate program on Saturday, but joined with the general society for the remaining sessions. The student society becomes a permanent part of the general organization.

The Southwestern Sociological Society held its second meeting since the war in Dallas, Texas, April 4-5, 1947 with approximately seventy-five people attending. Panel sections included in the program were as follows: Social Theory, Ethnic and Cultural Minorities, Social Demography, Committee on Teaching, Social Disorganizations, and Rural Sociology. Officers of the society for 1947-48 are as follows: President, Austin L. Porterfield, Texas Christian University; Secretary-Treasurer, Paul B. Foreman, Oklahoma A. & M. College; Executive Committee members: Sigurd Johansen, New Mexico State College, and Daniel Russell, Texas A. & M. College. Alvin Good, Northwestern Louisiana State College, was elected regional society representative to the American Sociological Society and J. L. Charlton, University of Arkansas, was reelected co-operating editor for *The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*.

Warner E. Gettys, University of Texas, as retiring president of the Southwestern Social Science Association, a regional confederation in which The Southwestern Sociological Society participates, presented a joint session address entitled "The Social Sciences Face The Atomic Age." His paper appears in the June issue of *The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*.

Ohio State Council on Family Relations. The first annual meeting of this organization was held

May 23, 24, 1947, in Columbus. Dr. John F. Cuber, Ohio State University, acted as chairman. Dr. Evelyn Millis Duvall was the guest speaker. The Council is the Ohio chapter of the National Conference on Family Relations.

American University. Dr. Pitman B. Potter, chairman of the department of International Relations and Organization of the American University, has been elected dean of the Graduate Division to succeed Dean Ernst Posner, who has become associate director of the School of Social Sciences and Public Affairs at the same institution.

Hofstra College, Hempstead, L.I. Joseph S. Roucek was Visiting Professor in the University of Washington, Seattle, this summer, and lectured also for the Workshop in International Relations of the University of British Columbia, Vancouver. Roucek edited the *Slavonic Encyclopedia* which will be published by the Philosophical Library in the fall; he is editing the *Encyclopedia of the USSR* for the same publisher.

Indiana University. Dr. Joseph Schneider, who has been teaching in the University of Minnesota, has been appointed Associate Professor by Indiana University. The following have been appointed as instructors: Karl Schuessler, who has been teaching in Vanderbilt in 1946-47; Albert K. Cohen, who has been a graduate student in Harvard University; and Lewis H. Orzack, who has been a graduate student in Columbia University. Maurice P. Schulte, assistant professor in Duquesne University, has been on the summer-session staff in Indiana University. Dr. John H. Mueller was on sabbatical leave during the second semester of 1946-47 and returned to active work in September. A leave of absence has been granted to Dr. Dinko Tomicic for 1947-48; he has accepted a fellowship from the Hoover Institute and will work in Leland Stanford.

Michigan State College. Professor William H. Form from Kent State University joined the staff in July. He plans to center his teaching and research on industrial and occupational sociology and social psychology. Professor Asael T. Hansen, cultural anthropologist of Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, joined the staff September 1. He is preparing his materials on Yucatan for publication and looking forward to research in Latin America.

Professor Solon Kimball was on leave this summer while serving as visiting lecturer at the Department of Sociology at the University of Chicago.

Mr. Paul Miller, former assistant county agent of West Virginia, has been employed in the Department as Rural Sociology Extension Specialist.

Mr. Alex Sim, Director of Adult Education Service at McGill University, Quebec, Canada, has been awarded a Hinman Fellowship and began work in September.

Arrangements between the Social Research Serv-

ice of Michigan State College and the Inter-American Institute for the Agricultural Sciences at Turrialba, Costa Rica have been made through which graduate students are furnished expenses and board and room while developing sociological and anthropological research projects. These projects may become graduate theses on Costa Rican social structure and value orientation. At the request of the Institute C. P. Loomis, Director of the Social Research Service, visited the Institute in August to initiate the co-operative project.

Edgar Schuler has been made associate director of the Social Research Service.

New York University. Miss Ethel J. Alpenfels has been appointed Associate Professor of Educational Sociology in the School of Education. She was formerly on the faculty of the University of Chicago.

Oberlin College. George E. Simpson, formerly head of the Department of Sociology at The Pennsylvania State College, has been appointed Head of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Oberlin College. Richard Myers has been promoted from Assistant Professor to Associate Professor. J. Milton Yinger, formerly of Ohio Wesleyan University, has been appointed Associate Professor.

Princeton University. Professor Kingsley Davis has been named Chairman of the Executive Committee of The Bureau of Urban Research to succeed Professor Jean Labatut.

Rosary College (River Forest, Illinois). Dr. Gladys Sellen has accepted an appointment to the Department of Sociology and Social Work.

University of Washington. Stuart C. Dodd has been appointed Research Professor and director of a new research unit created by the last legislature. This organization will consist of a statewide polling agency and field research organization supported jointly by the University and the State College. In addition to its research function, the agency will provide training in research for graduate students. Dr. Dodd will also teach courses in systematic sociology and social research beginning in October.

Delbert C. Miller has been appointed Associate Professor to teach courses in industrial sociology, public opinion, and related subjects. Ruth A. Inglis will teach courses in mass communication and collective behavior. Her book on *Freedom of the Movies* was published in February by the University of Chicago Press. The Curtis Publishing Company of

Philadelphia has made a generous grant to the Department to study certain problems in the field of mass communication. Raymond E. Bassett has been released from his teaching for next year in order to become research fellow under this grant. Robert W. O'Brien and Frank S. Miyamoto are engaged in a study of the resettlement of the Japanese and other minority problems in the local area. Julius Jahn and John Griswold are assisting in the work during the summer.

On the request of the Seattle Chief of Police, Norman S. Hayner has conducted a series of conferences on minority problems for the benefit of the key supervisory officers of the Seattle Police Department.

Howard B. Woolston, first Chairman of the Department, retired in June, after 28 years of teaching in the department. Jesse F. Steiner will return in the fall from a leave of absence at the University of Hawaii. C. K. Cheng will return this fall from a year's leave of absence in China. He will teach a course in Chinese social institutions and will assist in the introductory course. Joseph Cohen will resume full-time teaching this fall after a war leave of four years as Assistant Regional Expediter of the National Housing Agency. He will teach courses in American housing problems and in the fields of general sociology and statistics. Calvin F. Schmid will continue his work as director of research for the State Census Board.

Beginning with the fall quarter, the Department will offer two curricula: (1) A regular major for general education students requiring 36 quarter hours of sociology with a minimum of requirements in technical courses; and (2) A pre-professional major requiring 55 quarter hours of sociology including a required sequence in technical courses.

Professor Richard T. LaPiere of Stanford University offered courses in the Department during the summer quarter.

Utah State Agricultural College. As a feature of the centennial year celebration in Utah, a two-day symposium was held at the summer session of Utah State Agricultural College on Utah's population and community problems. Participating in the discussion were the following: Kimball Young, Northwestern University; Lowry Nelson, University of Minnesota; Arthur L. Beeley and Rex Skidmore, University of Utah; Harold T. Christensen and Reed Bradford, Brigham Young University; William L. Wanlass, Joseph A. Geddes, Laurence Bee, Joseph N. Symons, R. Welling Roskelley and Laval S. Morris, Utah State Agricultural College.

BOOK REVIEWS



The Masters and the Slaves: A Study in the Development of Brazilian Civilization. By GILBERTO FREYRE. Translated from the Portuguese by SAMUEL PUTNAM. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946. Pp. lxxi + 537. \$7.50.

This translation of *Casa grande e senzala*, a Brazilian book first published in 1934, makes available in English an important study. For those who for any reason will read only one book on Brazil, perhaps this is the book.

It is especially important in two respects: 1) as a study in the development of a "racially democratic" civilization; 2) for the role the book has already played in Brazilian intellectual life.

On being first published, *Casa grande e senzala* evoked vigorous and persistent criticism in Brazil, much of it uninformed and some of it even malicious. This criticism resulted, however, in widespread and wholesome discussion of the many topics dealt with in the book and this in turn measurably accelerated the shift in attention, at that time gaining impetus in Brazilian intellectual circles, from European peoples and cultures to indigenous Brazilian life. The book has gone through four Brazilian editions and still continues to provoke discussion, and also—what is more important—to stimulate research, in a country where research is new and comparatively rare. To some extent at least, Mario Marroquim was right when he said, "The history of Brazilian intellectual life may be divided into parts: before, and after, *Casa grande e senzala*."

An expansion of a Master's thesis presented in 1923 to Columbia University, the book is a compound of erudite essay, history and poetic expressions, with a generous sprinkling of science. The author has sought to describe a type: he has done so, however, more as a novelist or a poet than as a scientist. And this may be a distinct gain. For the human perhaps eludes understanding of any penetrating sort unless, to the detachment and objectivity of the scientist, is added the insight and comprehension of the poet. Being steeped in the history and lore of his country, the author often takes one into the "inner sanctum" of Brazilian psychic life (cp., e.g., 139-40). He also is acquainted with a vast literature in social theory which has been rela-

tively well assimilated; he at times lacks, however, the rigorous methodological training adequately to evaluate this enormous mass of literature. The "sociological," for instance, seems to be thought of as the generalizing tendency applied to anything having to do with man, including nutrition. The book bristles with ideas. Suggestive hunches or hypotheses for future study appear on almost every page. Footnotes are rich in source material still largely unused by Brazilian scholars.

Freyre originally conceived of this study as "an essay in genetic sociology and social history, with the object of determining and at times interpreting some of the more significant aspects of the formation of the Brazilian family" (xlviii). In his youth, he had been troubled by the mixed-blood character of a large part of the Brazilian population, together with the fact that the "unstable health, uncertain capacity for work, apathy and disturbances of growth" (xxiv) of many Brazilians was being popularly attributed to race mixture. From Franz Boas, however, he learned to distinguish between "race" and "culture," as well as between "racial and family heredity," and it is upon these distinctions (together with attention to the influence upon interpersonal relations of economic institutions and processes) that the book rests (xxi).

To the historical sources employed, such as legal documents in family and ecclesiastical archives, royal decrees, the official correspondence of colonial governors, letters from Jesuit missionaries, wills, diaries, physicians' reports, newspapers, books by foreign visitors, has been added the personal observations and experiences of the author as a member of one of the "first" families of Pernambuco.

Analyzed is the formation, in colonial Brazil, of a slave-holding, patriarch-centered society, with an economic base in the sugar plantation and mill: "a socio-economic system that represented, in a way, a revival of European feudalism" (xi): a "feudalism," however, developed by a people who in Europe had scarcely known this type of social organization and which combined "aristocracy, democracy and anarchy" in a manner essentially democratic "in its ethnic,

social and cultural composition" so that Brazilians "do not possess that cult of uniformity and horror of individual, family and regional differences which are the accompaniment of the equalitarian spirit throughout so large a part of English-speaking America" (xv).

In, then, an "harmonious adjustment and fusion" of man, habitat, techniques of maintenance, house-type, social organization, symbols and values (xii), there grew up around the *Casa Grande* (Big House) of the master and the *Senzala* (slave quarters) of his slaves an economic, political and sociological system: a system of production (plantation monoculture), of labor (slavery), of transport (ox-cart, *bangue*, hammock, horse), of religion ("family Catholicism," with a "cult of the dead" and a priest subordinate to the family patriarch), of politics (*compadrismo*), of family and sexual life ("polygamous patriarchalism") (xxvii). The *Casa Grande* came to be, at the same time, a fortress, a workshop, a chapel, a harem, a convent of young women, a school, a hospital, a bank, a cemetery, a house of charity giving shelter to the aged, the widow and the orphan (xxvii), whose patriarch was the dominating figure in colonial Brazil, more powerful than either the viceroy or the bishop.

This development was conditioned by a tropical environment and the cultures of Portuguese colonist, imported African and indigenous Indian. It was especially conditioned by the "social distance and cultural antagonism" between European master and his Indian and African slaves; a distance and antagonism, however, which gradually broke down under the combined effects of a continuous process of miscegenation, the personal relations normal to a familial unit (into which the mixed-blood off-spring had readily been admitted), and a comparative absence of race, class and religious antipathies. "Perhaps nowhere else is the meeting, intercommunication and harmonious fusion of diverse and even antagonistic [racial and] cultural traditions occurring in so liberal way" (78).

The Portuguese colonist was a "compromiser," of "great social plasticity," with "no absolute ideals," "no unyielding prejudices" (185). He came from a cosmopolitan people, "the most commercial and least rural" (32) of Europe, highly mobile and miscible; a people "existing indeterminantly between Europe and Africa," having suffered the recurrent invasions of many peoples and cultures and the consequent "adjustment and readjustment of cultural values and racial preponderance," in the face of which

they had developed "an easy and relaxed flexibility" (7). They were a people in whom "Europe reigned, but Africa really governed": "half-Christian, half-Saracen, with relatives and friends in both camps"; whose religion was "a softened, lyric Christianity, with many phallic and animistic reminiscences of the pagan cults" (30), and whose system of monogamy had been "undermined by the sensual mysticism of Islam" (6).

Taking advantage of their experiences as colonizers in the Cape Verde and Madeira Islands, in Africa and Asia, the Portuguese in Brazil developed "entirely new economic techniques and social policy" (24) and built up "the first modern society . . . in the tropics with national characteristics and qualities of permanence" (17). The family, instead of the state or the commercial company, became the integrative unit.

These incoming Portuguese encountered in Brazil "one of the most backward populations on the continent" (81), a largely nomadic people whose culture "was still cutting its first teeth, without the bony framework, the development or the resistance of the Great American Semi-civilizations." Whereas the Spanish shattered the New World cultures which held out stubbornly against them, so as more conveniently to set up a colonial system of exploitation, Portuguese imperialism was "not mineral but vegetable" (82); so that, from the beginning, "greater profit was had from this impoverished culture than from the one wealthy from the mines."

The Indian contribution, however, was "dimmed by the greater influence of the African" (94), especially along the seacoast, from Rio Grande do Sul to Maranhão, and with particular reference to cuisine, techniques of mining, iron-working, speech and speech habits, magical practices, music, songs, interpersonal attitudes, myths and legends. The African brought to Brazil an artistic and technical background superior to that of the Indian. He was accustomed to a settled, agricultural existence. He was biologically and psychically adjusted to life in the tropics. In contacts with the Indian, his descendants often became "a Europeanizing force" (311). And although, in the opinion of Freyre, the African was "sexually the weakest of the three elements" (95), the Negro woman played an important part in the sexual and family life of the Brazilian, either as concubine or wife and mother, or as slave or domestic servant. She "rocked us to sleep, suckled us, fed us, mashing our food with her hands" (278). A Negro boy

was the first playmate of the master's children; the mulatto girl "initiated us into sexual experience."

The wide range of information presented in this study—geographic, biological, historical, ethnographic, economic, religious, literary, architectural, dietary, etc.—obviously increases the chances of error. In succeeding editions, Freyre has eliminated the more obvious of these. An occasional over-emphasis of the influence of geographic forces, however, still creeps in. Unfortunately also is the use of such terms as "economic instinct" (24), the echo of Hall's outworn biological theories, (155), and the uncritical use of "Tapuia" (128).

From a strictly scientific point of view, however, the principal doubts regarding this admittedly illuminating study arise from the character of the generalizations advanced. The intimacy of understanding is limited, quite naturally, to the author's range of acquaintance and, more particularly, to the Olinda-Recife Negro-slave sugar-plantation area and, to some extent, the Bahian Recôncavo. Freyre has briefly visited and studied other areas of Brazil, including the similar Campos area in the state of Rio de Janeiro; but it is probably with reference to the areas first mentioned that generalizations are most apt, even profound and illuminating. When, however, such phrases as "practically every Brazilian" (xxxvii) are added to a generalization, there always arises the problem of to just what extent that generalization is precise.

For Brazil is not, and never has been a cultural or societal unit. In fact, variations in the original cultural heritage, together with the vicissitudes of social interaction under variant physical and occupational circumstances, especially those of distance and isolation, have made of this vast and heterogeneous country, from pre-colonial times to the present, in a real sense, several Brazils.¹

Freyre has met this criticism by saying, "I believe that no serious study of the formation of Brazilian social life can be separated from that system (sugar production); for it is under its influence or in opposition to it that the formation is to be perceived taking place" (lxvii). He also suggests (lxviii) that he intends to deal with this problem in greater detail in his forthcoming book, *Ordem e progresso*, and consequently its publication is awaited with interest.

The difficult task of translation, increased in

this case by the large number of terms of merely local origin or significance, has been competently done, occasional errors which one quite familiar with Brazil notes being relatively insignificant. Freyre's engaging style has been well preserved. A considerable number of clarifying notes has been added by the translator. There is a glossary, a bibliography (incomplete), indexes of subjects and names, and a detailed drawing of a typical "Big House." Unfortunately, other illustrations in the Brazilian edition have been omitted by the American publisher.

DONALD PIERSON

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*Institute of Social Anthropology,
Smithsonian Institution*

Brazil: People and Institutions. By T. Lynn Smith. Baton Rouge: The Louisiana State University Press, 1946. 843 pp. \$6.50.

In the Spring of 1942 Dr. Smith was selected by the Department of State to serve for a period as a Rural Sociologist attached to the United States Embassy in Rio de Janeiro. He was at this post for slightly more than a year during which time he did extensive travel in Brazil. The results of these travels plus intensive research in secondary sources have resulted in this book on Brazil's Institutions and People.

The approach to this study has been the conventional one with more than general emphasis upon man-land relationships as presented in his textbook *The Sociology of Rural Life* and as used consistently in his researches in the field of rural social organization. After an introduction the second part of this book deals with the cultural diversity of Brazil. Like so many of the Republics of the Western Hemisphere differences in climate, race and cultural background make one region of the country widely different from the others. The size of Brazil plus the very meager or primitive forms of transportation and communication that exist in so much of Brazil results in regional contrasts ranging in agriculture from tools and techniques only a first step removed from the gathering stage to the most modern agricultural machinery in use in the world today. This diversity has led the author to describe Brazil not as just regional diversity but as a juxtaposition of centuries.

Some 168 pages of this book are devoted to the various aspects of the population of Brazil. A reasonably accurate population census of

¹See, for example, Donald Pierson and Mario Wagner Vieira da Cunha, "A Survey of Research Possibilities in Brazil," *Acta Americana* (in press).

Brazil in 1940 made available previously unobtainable data on this most rapidly increasing national population in the Western Hemisphere and one of the most rapidly increasing in the world. Other than growth and distribution this part of the book includes a chapter on Racial Composition, some other population characteristics, Fertility, Mortality, Immigration and Internal Migration.

Part four is devoted to Levels and Standards of Living. Although, as pointed out by the author, detailed analyses of consumption levels are only in their beginning stage in Brazil, enough investigative work has been done to indicate certain general features of levels and standards of living in the various regions and for the country as a whole.

The conclusion is, as might be expected, that the general level of living for Brazil's masses is relatively low. It will be of interest to many that the author concludes that the general low level of living is closely associated with a low standard of living in that the masses see little discrepancy between the amount of goods and services actually consumed and those goods and services to which they feel they are entitled. As the most significant factors operating in Brazilian society to produce this low level of living, three principal ones are listed: (1) a very high ratio of dependents to producers; (2) the very low production per worker and, to a certain degree a resultant of the second factor; (3) the lavish use of labor.

Part five, and one of the more spacious parts of the book, deals with the relations of the people to the land. Considerable attention is given to Settlement Patterns, Land Division, Land Tenure and Size of Holdings. This part of the book contains also a chapter on Locality Groupings and another on Colonization and Settlement.

This part is unquestionably, in the opinion of the reviewer, one of the more substantial parts of the book, not only in what it offers as new content resulting from analysis and description but in its contribution in correcting many erroneous impressions of rural social organization in Latin America, all too frequently accepted as fact in the United States. Accurate observations such as included here should go far to erase the seemingly general impression that the pattern for Mexico is the pattern for all of Latin America.

The Chapter on Land Tenure is one of the few treatises on this important subject in Latin America that has come to the reviewer's

attention. Neglect of the quantitative aspects of farm tenure in Latin America is easily explainable by the dearth of reliable and available data on the subject. Unfortunately, however, realistic qualitative data on the subject is almost as difficult to find as those few persons who have given attention to the subject in the field of written observations having limited themselves to a few subjective judgments.

The chapter on Colonization and Settlement will be welcomed not only by agricultural leaders in Brazil but by such leaders in other countries of South America as well, since colonization has been a subject of major concern for decades for those countries possessing tropical lands. Brazil's success in the field of colonization, some of the techniques of which are described here, should offer much to those countries in which, during the near future, colonization will become something more than a plan.

Part six deals with the Social Institutions of Brazil and includes chapters on the Family, Education and the School, Religion and the Church, and Politics and Government.

Part seven the author labels "conclusions." It is a single chapter in which he presents in bold outline certain outstanding features of rural Brazil and in which he suggests certain steps that Brazil should take if she is to develop economically and socially in keeping with its rapid increase in numbers. This chapter will be controversial, agreement or disagreement with the author depending upon one's interpretation of the data presented in preceding pages.

There is little doubt in the mind of the reviewer but that the reception of this book will be in keeping with the tremendous amount of work that has gone into the assembly, organization and analysis of the material included in its pages. I would list its major contributions as follows: (1) it will afford a schematic approach to other studies of this kind that need to be and will be made; (2) it can, and it is hoped that it will, provide dependable source material for those writers of popular works on Latin America which do so much to fashion public opinion; (3) it will serve as basic reading and reference material for those who want to know more about Latin America and for private and governmental agencies whose functions are to work with these people and to interpret Latin America for the United States. To those who read Portuguese and Spanish the bibliography will be helpful.

OLEN E. LEONARD

Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations

The Small Community Looks Ahead. By WAYLAND J. HAYES. New York, Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1947. Pp. xii + 276. \$3.00.

Small Town. By GRANVILLE HICKS. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1946. Pp. viii + 276. \$3.00.

These two volumes reflect the growing interest in the small community, and its significance for the nation at large. They are written from different backgrounds, on the part of their respective authors, though with strikingly similar points of view. Professor Hayes gathered his materials while in receipt of a grant from the Institute of Research and Training of Vanderbilt University; and further data were obtained through his experience with the Citizens' Workshops conducted under the auspices of the Extension Division of the University of Virginia. While his observations were, therefore, mostly of communities in the south, he feels that his conclusions would be somewhat generally applicable. Granville Hicks, on the other hand, writes of his home town near Troy in New York state, where he lives as an intellectual refugee from the city. He there tries with some success to participate in the life of the community, though painfully aware of the barriers that separate him from the "natives." It is the thesis of both authors that small towns have constructive possibilities for the life of America, the realization of which requires a kind of planning that is based upon the active cooperation of the local people themselves. With such agreements, the mode of treatment of the problem by the two authors reveals marked differences.

Professor Hayes is the social scientist who begins with a definition of the small community, as "one which may be comprehended by a large proportion of its people through direct experience." He then presents a hypothetical chart of community development, "upward" through organization from an immature, highly individualistic state of affairs to a point where intelligent cooperation prevails. Once such a stage is reached in some measure, a reverse process may set in, "downward" through disorganization to a condition of destructive conflict and disintegration. The characteristics of each of the three stages are noted, and examples are given of small southern communities, each of which is regarded as being at one point in the process. Succeeding chapters present the components of an outline for community study, and an analysis of planning procedures that may follow an experience of crisis. This leads to an illuminating study of the techniques of creative leadership in

the community, with an interesting classification of types of leaders. The remaining parts of *The Small Community Looks Ahead* have to do with situations wherein the foregoing discussion finds application. The areas selected are the Tennessee Valley communities; two Virginia counties where Adult Education Projects were carried on under the auspices of the Extension Division of the University of Virginia; Greenville County, South Carolina, which was the seat of a somewhat unsuccessful attempt to establish a County Council for Community Development; Rutherford County, Tennessee, where a Community Health Program was set up under the Commonwealth Fund, and with the aid of University students; and, finally, certain counties of Virginia in which Citizens' Workshops were carried on under the Extension Division of the University of Virginia. In this last case a series of vital leading questions are posed as rallying points for discussion of community affairs in the Workshops. As the author was a participant in the experiment of the Workshops, his interpretation of their functions and possibilities is especially vital. The concluding chapter of the volume presents a kind of dilemma, that, whereas small communities stand in need of outside initiative to arouse them from their lethargy, the effects of such outside contacts is likely to leave them as they are. The industrial entrepreneur exploits the community without responsibility for its needs as a whole; government bureaucracy fails to spark the community into action; the churches do a better community job on the mission field than they do at home; and the community organization movement, having run its course, leaves the small community untouched. Perhaps more favorable comment can be made concerning the agricultural education efforts of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, though it, too, could improve on its procedures for reaching the people. Finally, a plea is made for Universities to reach out more effectively in their respective states.

Turning, again, to *Small Town* by Granville Hicks, the contrast with Professor Hayes' work is less a matter of the conclusions, and more one of approach and method. Hicks lives in Roxborough (a pseudonym) as a participating observer, sharing with his wife in many community activities. Though a former teacher of English literature and a novelist, he displays much knowledge of the sociological literature of community life. His point of view seems to be that of a disillusioned radical, who, despairing of theoretical constructions of human behavior,

takes up abode in a small rural community, where he can cultivate sympathetic relationships with common people and study them as they are. He thoroughly explores their minds and mores, coming out with a somber, but not hopeless, view of their possibilities. Their faults are due not solely to their narrowness and traditionalism, but also to the conservatism and cultural inertias of the larger society. A task remains for the creation of a citizenry adequate to cope with the problems both of the small community and of the world order. If we could solve the problems of the one, we could better see our way to a solution of those of the other. For such a purpose the schools, as they are, seem like a broken reed. They need a new personnel and a new orientation. In a final chapter on *The Duty of the Intellectuals* the author gives hints as to own development from early optimistic liberalism to Communism, and thence to the subdued realization that we must start where we are, with people as they are, and do the possible thing that lies directly ahead. His last observation is that he must attend a meeting of the Board of Fire Commissioners! What might seem absurd or trivial in such a conclusion has meaning against the background of the whole discussion. It is the case of an intellectual, freed from slavery to dogmatism, seeking "a way out" through democratic cooperation with his fellow townsmen.

These are books which students might well be asked to buy and read without the likelihood of their turning them back for their money at the end of a course!

ARTHUR EVANS WOOD

University of Michigan

One Nation. By WALLACE STEGNER and the editors of *Look*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1945. 340 pp. \$3.75.

The significance of this text and picture-study of eight "minority" groups depends upon assumptions, even challenges them. The sociology teacher, assuming that the attitudes of younger students should be deliberately modified in the direction of tolerance and friendliness toward other components of the "melting pot," has a powerful instrument prepared for his hand. It would be hard for any freshman or sophomore to read this lucid text and gaze at the magnificent photographs without a surge of loyalty to the classic documents basic to our democratic heritage. The editors apparently are content with the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution as the ethical foundation

for their ventures in sociological journalism. If it be granted that the shaping of tolerant and neighborly attitudes is an appropriate educational objective, a copy should be made available to each student. It could be regarded not as a text studied for examinations, but to preserve as blood plasma for weakened values and as reminder of the truths of human relationships that are worth remembering long after final examinations have passed.

Some sociologists would deny on various grounds the familiar dilemma involving propaganda effectiveness versus objective futility. Certainly the dilemma disappears at higher education levels. Advanced students would of course question the over-simplified analysis and the sampling methods behind the poignant photographs. A penetrating sociologist like J. W. Woodward recommends that prejudice be described as a deeply rooted natural social order phenomenon, rather than a poison to be simply neutralized by education and comradeship. It could be that objectivity in the long-run would provide the more potent means of holding prejudice in a workable equilibrium than appeals to sympathy.

Stegner does forget at times that discrimination could produce average group differences in personality traits as well as differential tubercular rates. Such differences perpetuate prejudice. Yet he had read Myrdal and gives a vivid sketch of "cumulative causation" in group relationships in the final chapter. Even the freshman reader could hardly evade the thought that we progressively make our neighbors good or bad. The inclusion of a chapter on anti-Catholic prejudice is a wise reminder that prejudice is not restricted to those of high visibility.

The book is journalism at its best and perhaps the powerful modern agencies of communication will increasingly capture the attention of young students, open their minds and deliver them into the hands of sociologists who can then each reveal the more complex truth as he sees it.

CLIFFORD KIRKPATRICK

University of Minnesota

Hypnoanalysis. By LEWIS R. WOLBERG. New York: Grune & Stratten, 1945. xviii + 342 pp. \$4.00.

Johan R., aged 42, a commercial artist, entered the hospital in 1937, an apparent schizophrenic. He was soon released as convalescent

but returned in January, 1938, definitely psychotic. For over a year, he scrubbed floors. This suggests medical malfeasance, especially since it was later revealed that he had suffered severe shock during admission. He believed the doctors were "electrocuting" hopeless patients like himself. When this was discovered, late in the hypnoanalysis, no direct effort was made to show him it was a delusion, though the record indicates he was quite capable of understanding it. Instead, months were spent in "uncovering" deep infantile repressions and teaching him to accept them as "reality." Masturbatory guilt and probable positive mother- and negative father-fixations were found. The report does not give the ages of his two younger siblings nor raise the question as to why they did not break down. The family came from Norway when Johan R. was twenty; the father was a drunkard who abused his wife but was a kindly man when sober, much interested in books and music.

After Johan R. had scrubbed floors for over a year, "active treatment" was started in the form of daily interviews. "These were singularly sterile"—but he did begin to write many notes on scraps of paper. After a year or so of this, he began to show some resentment—in his writing, though his outward behavior remained as passive as ever. Then the doctor got him some new clothes and had his teeth fixed—more than two years after admission (more medical malfeasance). Next, the doctor got him some art materials. (This also suggests malfeasance: a good commercial artist scrubbed floors for more than two years after being severely frightened during admission.) His condition now quickly improved; he became much more active and even began to talk to people; his writing became more normal, showed less obsession with his guilt and worthlessness, and even revealed a sense of humor.

Thus, the doctor had finally established rapport with the patient who trusted him, liked him, and was convinced that the doctor did not think Johan was "all bad." This relationship enabled the doctor to start hypnoanalysis and he gave the patient the "works": hypnoidal and normal dream analysis; hypnotic and waking drawing and interpretation of the "symbols" thus revealed; automatic writing; crystal and mirror gazing; "regression" to infantile behavior levels; hypnotically induced conflicts and scrambled sensory perceptions; affect transfers; free association in and out of hypnosis; post-hypnotic suggestions; and so on. Four months

later, Johan R. was "cured," or as Kardiner prefers to say in his "Dynamic Interpretation," he went through a "personality transition which made some kind of a social life possible." It appears to have been a normal "kind of social life," since, two years after release, no neurotic or psychotic or anxiety tendencies were found.

Whether Johan R. recovered because of hypnoanalysis or in spite of it, it seems unlikely that he would have recovered if he had been kept scrubbing floors, wearing old clothes, suffering from bad teeth, deprived of art materials, and compelled to live in social isolation under the delusion that the doctors were planning to electrocute him. Schizophrenic and hysteric patients with longer and more severe illnesses than that of Johan R. have been "cured," or helped, by metrazol, insulin shock, lobotomy, fires and other "shock" crises, removal of focal infections, revival meetings, Christian Science, music, recreational and occupational therapy, ordinary psychiatry, and the mere passage of time, as well as by the several varieties of psychoanalysis, with or without hypnosis. All of these "treatments" seem to have one thing in common: restoration of the patient to a state in which ordinary normal social interaction is possible. If there is anything in the theory of Faris and Dunham regarding the "causes" of schizophrenia, we might expect a "cure" when social isolation is replaced by satisfying social interaction. The real problem is how to get "to" the withdrawn patient, break up his isolating habits, and develop new integrating habits. Psychoanalysis is one means of doing this. Hypnoanalysis is presented as a quicker method of doing all psychoanalysis can do, and perhaps even more in some cases, such as diminishing excessive resistance, effecting transfers which ordinary analysis sometimes fails to do, or even "uncovering" deeper levels of repression than psychoanalysis can manage.

This case raises more questions than it answers, as Dr. Wolberg notes in Chapter XIV: perhaps it was not schizophrenia; other methods might have succeeded as well; the "warm and friendly relations with the doctor" may have been the real reason for recovery. A few statements like the latter, which are always stated in interpersonal terms, are the only evidence that Dr. Wolberg has any "insight" into the possible social etiology and therapy of schizophrenia. His frame of reference seems to be "classical Freud": penis envy, castration, symbolization, ego, superego (he doesn't mention id), infantile fixation, stratified repression, and

so on. He shows no evidence of familiarity with the "cultural revision" of psychoanalysis; he treats the Freudian concepts as if they were clinical entities like an infected gall bladder. This may be merely a "way of speaking," but it sounds like reification. This impression is especially marked in the last six chapters which give a somewhat theoretical discussion of hypnoanalysis: procedures; recall of buried memories; transference; resistance; and interpretation. The writing is full of the figurative literary language which is the bane of most psychoanalytic exposition. However, Dr. Wolberg is careful not to claim too much—hypnoanalysis is no "cure-all"; he is open-minded and tentative; he appears to be a skillful, ingenious, successful hypnotist who also is well trained in psychoanalysis.

Therapists like Wolberg, Lindner, Kubie, and Erickson, in conjunction with men like Hull, will eventually produce a sound scientific theory of hypnosis. Psychoanalysis sorely needs the same rigorous scientific study. I can understand the implied disapproval of this book by a reputable medical psychiatrist like Dr. Farber ("Mario and the Hypnoanalyst," *New Republic*, March 4, 1946, pp. 320-321), but what we need is *scientific work* on psychoanalysis, not a sneer. We need to know what are the biological and psychosocial bases and mechanisms of id, ego, superego, repression (the unconscious), transfer, resistance, and all the other reified conceptual "entities" with which analysts perform their magic. J. B. Watson and E. B. Holt have made beginnings toward a natural science explanation of psychoanalytic phenomena, as Clark Hull has for hypnosis. Sociologists and social psychologists are also making contributions in these fields.

We may now be on the verge of discoveries in the realm of "mind," "consciousness," and psychosociosomatic behavior which will be as revolutionary as the chemistry and physics of hydrocarbons and atoms. Freud, Watson, Holt, Hull, and the therapists are the Daltons, Faradays, and Mendeléeffs; what we now need are men like Berzelius, Kekulé, Rutherford, Meitner, and Fermi. This new natural science of "mind" is indeed "such stuff as dreams are made of"—and also the stuff of "consciousness" and culture. Intensive and extensive investigations of psychoanalysis and hypnosis under rigorous natural science conditions are needed—thousands of them. Biologists, psychologists, sociologists, psychiatrists, and statisticians should collaborate on these studies. Eventually, we shall be able to integrate personalities as

well as we now can synthesize rubber and soon may be able to control atomic fission.

READ BAIN

Miami University

Religion in the Struggle for Power. By J. MILTON YINGER. Durham: Duke University Press, 1946. xix + 275 pp. \$3.00.

This is a thoughtful and well-documented attempt to give sociological interpretation to certain phases of the history of Christianity in Europe and America. How do religious groups respond to social changes posing problems for faith and policy? What has happened to Christian standards when challenged by rising capitalism, by modern industrialism, and by war?

The three explanatory concepts are the dilemma of the churches, the church and sect types of response, and the social sources of denominationalism. The hypothesis is that these add to the sociologist's power to predict. The invasion of the religious field by secular interests is what brings perplexity to churchmen. Shall they stand resolutely by their commitments, or compromise in order to retain a position of influence? There has always been a dualistic ethic in Christian doctrine and tendency, and historical conditions motivate the "church" to move in the direction of asceticism, conservatism, and quietism, while the "sect" selects the more prophetic and ethically radical elements in the tradition. The church compromises and extends its reach; the sect strengthens its moral position but loses numbers. Sub-varieties of church and sect are distinguished, and an important conclusion is that religion makes maximum use of its power when it is able to keep a balance between the two types of response, participating in the mundane while cleaving to the eternal realities.

There can be no doubt that in many situations religious persons have been troubled by the dilemma of which the author writes. How "inevitably" this dilemma is forced into religious thought is another matter. It would seem that not infrequently the secular interests have served to re-define rather than defeat the religious interest. The content of terms like "justice" and "right" is very largely supplied by the structures and processes inhering in the life that men know, to which they have learned to adjust, and in terms of which they may unconsciously shift the premises of their thought and thus find a new meaning in scriptures and creeds, often without any sense of deviation from the old. This is as much a factor in religious change as the desire to get a hearing and stay in power.

There is some question, too, about labels. How is one to decide whether a given response is church-type or sect-type? Would liberal and conservative observers agree? Professor Yinger does not define the Christian ethic beyond identifying it with the plain teaching of the Synoptic Gospels. How plain is this, after all? Is it always sect-like to tend toward equality and pacifism? This reviewer is acquainted with groups which would be classified by most as sects which contend that equality and pacifism are in themselves concessions to the modern temper, and that true Christians should withdraw to the purity of the gospel, which stands for very different values. There seems to be some conflict here, and one must finally choose be-

tween form and content as the basis of definition. In some places the suggestion comes that it is with Professor Yinger's understanding of the Christian ethic rather than with its own that the church-type response compromises.

It occurs to the reviewer that social conflict, including personal conflict, as over against economic and political conflict, might be more fully explored as a factor in religious change.

The kindred motivations underlying the church and sect responses suggest that this volume will provide valuable source materials for the sociology of knowledge as well as contribute to our knowledge of the sociology of religion.

THOMAS HANCOCK GRAFTON

Mary Baldwin College

BOOK NOTES

Juvenile Delinquency: A Critical Annotated Bibliography. P. S. DEQ. CABOT, PH.D. H. W. Wilson Co., New York, 1946. pp. 1-166. \$3.75.

This is the best comprehensive bibliography on juvenile delinquency available in English. A must for anyone interested in the subject. Lists over 900 books, articles and reports from 1914-1944, covering three fields of inquiry: research, prevention, and treatment.

Operational Research and Action Research. By H. A. C. DOBBS; Foreword by JOHN COLLIER. Washington, D.C.: Institute of Ethnic Affairs, 1947. 21 pp. \$0.25.

This pamphlet outlines a suggestion for the incorporation of "operational research" in administrative organization: "Operational research," regarded by the author as a British wartime innovation, involves the co-ordination of (1) quantitative analysis, (2) layman participation, (3) user participation, (4) integration of specialism, and (5) structural insight in a holistic approach to the planning of administrative policy. Although "operational research" developed in reference to problems concerning physical sciences, a parallel for the social sciences is found in "action research," which refers to a joint effort by the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs, The University of Chicago's Committee on Human Development, and the Society for Applied Anthropology to deal with field problems of the first named agency. Had Mr. Dobbs looked further he would have found innumerable other examples in the United States of attempts to secure integration of research, policy formation, and layman interest, notably in planning commissions about the country. What is wanting is more knowledge of tech-

niques for effectuating the co-ordination desired. Beyond his recommendation for an extension of the staff principle, Mr. Dobbs has little to say on this point.

The American Individual Enterprise System.

The Economic Principles Commission of the National Association of Manufacturers. McGraw-Hill, New York, 1946. 2 Vol. \$10.

This work, according to its foreword, is "a thorough analysis of the philosophy, operations and achievements of the American enterprise system . . . all of this without reference to previous Association positions. . . . From the very start, neither the Board of Directors nor any of the N.A.M. officers interfered in any way with the studies or the full expansion of opinions by the Commission." The work bears out the claim. The choice of the authors has produced what might be termed the "NAM Bible" and here it is for any who want it and have ten dollars. But if reality is desired, if enlightenment as well as particularistic viewpoint is thought necessary—then this work is inadequate. Berle and Means in their work on corporations, much of Schumpeter, much of Chamberlin's work on monopoly, all serve to deflate the oversimplified stereotyped view presented here.

Housing in the Cleveland Community, Past—Present—Future. By HOWARD WHIPPLE GREEN. Real Property Inventory of Metropolitan Cleveland, 1947. Pp. 24. \$5.00.

A reproduction of census materials on population, number of families, persons per family, and dwelling units in Cuyahoga County, Ohio, from 1810 to 1940, with simple projections to the year 2000.

From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology. Translated, Edited, and with an Introduction by H. H. GERTH and C. WRIGHT MILLS. New York: Oxford University Press, 1946. xi + 490 pp. \$5.00.

Max Weber has been known to American sociologists largely for his contributions to methodology. It is one of the merits of this volume to present Weber as the comparative student of social systems and as the penetrating social analyst that he was. The book opens with an instructive sketch of Max Weber's life and work, written by Gerth and Mills, which stresses the "sociological conditions for scholarship of the kind he displayed" and is in itself a contribution to the sociology of knowledge. The main body of the book consists of very readable translations of selections from Max Weber's work, arranged under the headings of "Science and Politics," "Power," "Religion," and "Social Structures." This volume is required reading for students of stratification, institutions, sociology of religion, and sociology of knowledge.

Description and Measurement of Personality. By RAYMOND B. CATTELL. New York: World Book Company. 1946. pp. 571. No price indicated.

This volume, which many students of personality may be inclined to dismiss as an "exclusively quantitative" contribution, represents the most comprehensive attempt so far made to bring some order out of the numberless uncoordinated investigations of personality variables. The author's integration of this material, based largely upon correlation and factor analysis, brings him to some highly original conclusions, and incidentally some novel terminology. A second volume dealing with personality development is promised. Meanwhile, those who wish to know what empirical data have and have not established, would do well not to miss this volume.

The Polish Worker, A Study of a Social Stratum. By FELIKS GROSS. New York: Roy Publishers, 1945. pp. 274.

This book, the first of its kind to appear in English, traces the development of the Polish labor movement from the beginning of the 19th century to the close of the disastrous Battle of Warsaw in August, 1944. The descriptions of the social structure of wage labor, of wage scales, and of labor legislation provide a comprehensive characterization of the Polish worker, which is further and poignantly illuminated by

excerpts from workers' memoirs. These materials leave no difficulty in understanding the intimate relation between the labor movement and political events in Poland. The section on "Polish Labor under the Nazis" is especially revealing not only of the political force exerted by organized labor but also of the reciprocal effects of Nazi domination on the labor movement. It may be fairly said that *The Polish Worker* presents the history of modern Poland from the point of view of the labor group and its efforts to articulate its needs.

Medical Education and the Changing Order. By B. ALLEN RAYMOND. N.Y., Commonwealth Fund, 1946. 142 pp. (New York Academy of Medicine. Committee on Medicine and the Changing Order Studies.) \$1.50.

The author is Executive Dean of the Colleges of Dentistry, Medicine, and Pharmacy, University of Illinois, Chicago. The promising title exceeds the quality of the contents. Nevertheless, the book reflects the growing pains of medical education adjusting to a rapidly changing society, and, as such, has its place. The monograph is an exposition of a personal philosophy of medical education which the author has not yet thought through to application. Because of this the book appears platitudinous and superficial. However, the closing sentences implicate sociologists and point to their future inclusion in health program planning. "Medicine is coming of age as a social science in the service of society. It takes a man, not a machine, to understand mankind."

Medical Services by Government: Local, State and Federal. By BERNHARD J. STERN. New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1946. xiv and 208 pp. \$1.50.

This is a monographic study of present medical services in the United States, along with an account of the historical backgrounds. A preface was written by W. G. Smillie, M.D. Chapters are presented on Medical Services for the Indigent by Local Government; Social and Historical Backgrounds, Medical Services by Local Government; Recent Developments, Medical Services by State Government, Expenditures for Medical Services by State and Local Governments, The Nature and Extent of Hospital Services by Government, Federal Grants-in-Aid for Medical Care, Medical Services by the Federal Government. Statistical data relative to hospital service are presented in an Appendix.

Guide to Public Affairs Organizations, with Notes on Public Affairs Informational Materials. By CHARLES R. READ and SAMUEL MARBLE. Public Affairs Press, Washington, D.C., 1946. 129 pp. \$2.00. (Paper)

This guide is a compilation of over four hundred social improvement organizations, of national or international scope, which invite public participation or offer information or services of general public importance. Addresses of organizations and brief indications of their activities are included.

A Aculturação dos Alemães no Brasil. By EMILIO WILLEMS. Companhia Editora Nacional, São Paulo, Brazil, 1946. 609 pp. No price indicated. (Paper)

This work on the acculturation of the Germans in Brazil is written by a professor of anthropology of the São Paulo University and School of Sociology and Political Science. North American sociologists who read Portuguese or Spanish will find this volume a noteworthy addition to our knowledge of social structure and change in Brazil. The conceptual framework of the study will be entirely familiar to North Americans, as the author demonstrates an intimate knowledge of the related literature in English.

The study shows the factors which affect the assimilation of Germans in Brazil. It recognizes the urban setting as more conducive to assimilation than the rural. Linguistic borrowings from Portuguese show the primary adaptation of the Germans to their new milieu to be in terms of plants and animals, houses, tools, and government functions. The continuation of the old family patterns is noted in the rural areas, sup-

ported by local endogamy. Such intermarriage with non-Germans as occurs is most frequent in the upper and lower classes. Catholics in general, are assimilated more rapidly than protestants. Predominantly protestant zones are more prosperous and "progressive" and the fusion of economic and political interests is the principal force favoring the political assimilation of the Germano-Brazilians.

Apes, Giants, and Man. By FRANZ WEIDENREICH. University of Chicago Press, 1946. 122 pp. \$2.50. (Cloth)

This book presents the series of five Hitchcock lectures on the physical evolution of man, delivered by the author at the University of California in 1945. The volume is not a popularization but a scientific summary of the origin and racial differentiation of man. It includes the most recent discoveries and theories. The evidence for giants consists of a mandibular fragment from Java and three teeth found in a Chinese apothecary's shop in Hong Kong. These remains are definitely human in character but of gigantic proportions. Weidenreich considers these types as morphologically more primitive than the large Pithecanthropus type. He states that there is little evidence that they are geologically older, but there are indications that such may be the case.

The volume contains some interesting emphases, such as a protest against Huxley's overstressing the similarities between apes and man at the expense of dissimilarities, the refusal to accept the Piltdown jaw as belonging with the brain case, and the elaboration of constitutional types as part of the modern racial picture.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

(Certain titles listed here will be reviewed later)

- BECK, HUBERT PARK. *Men Who Control Our Universities*. Morningside Heights, New York: King's Crown Press. 1947. 229 pp. \$3.00
- BERLE, ALF K. and DE CAMP, L. SPRAGUE. *Inventions and Their Management*. 2nd Ed. Scranton, Pennsylvania: International Textbook Co. 1947. 742 pp. No price indicated.
- BRYSON, LYMAN and FINKELSTEIN, LOUIS and MACIVER, R. M. (Editors) *Approaches to Group Understanding*. (A Symposium) New York: Harper & Brothers. 1947. 858 pp. \$5.00
- BURCH, GUY IRVING and PENDELL, ELMER. *Human Breeding and Survival*. New York: Penquin Books, Inc. 138 pp. 25 cents
- CABOT, P. S. de Q. *Juvenile Delinquency*. New York: The H. W. Wilson Co. 1946. 166 pp. \$3.75
- CHASE, STUART. *A Generation of Industrial Peace*. New York: Standard Oil Co. 1946. 63 pp. No price indicated.
- CHICAGO PARK DISTRICT (POLICE TRAINING SCHOOL). *The Police and Minority Groups*. Chicago: Chicago Park District. 1947. 133 pp. No price indicated.
- COMMISSION TO STUDY THE ORGANIZATION OF PEACE. *Security and Disarmament under the United Nations*. New York. 1947. 35 pp. No price indicated.
- COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC DEBT POLICY. *Our National Debt and the Budget*. (National Debt Series 4) New York. 1947. 20 pp. 25 cents
- EVANS, EVA KNOX. *All About Us*. New York: Capitol Publishing Co., Inc. 1947. 95 pp. \$2.00
- FRIEDMANN, GEORGES. *Problemes Humains Du Machinisme Industriel*. Librairie Gallimard, Paris. 1946. 373 pp. No price indicated.
- GILLAN, JOHN. *Moche a Peruvian Coastal Community*. Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office. (Publication No. 3) 166 pp. \$1.00
- GOLDSCHMIDT, WALTER. *As You Sow*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co. 1947. 288 pp. \$4.00
- GREEN, HOWARD WHIFFLE. *Cleveland Market Data Handbook*. Cleveland: Real Property Inventory of Metropolitan Cleveland. 1947. 77 pp. \$2.50
- HANDLIN, OSCAR and MARY FLUG. *Commonwealth, A Study of the Role of Government in the American Economy: Massachusetts 1774-1861*. New York: New York University Press. 1947. 364 pp. No price indicated.
- HARE, A. E. C. *Industrial Relations in New Zealand*. New York: William Salloch. 1947. 370 pp. \$3.00
- HEIMANN, EDUARD. *Freedom and Order*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1947. 344 pp. \$3.00
- INSTITUTE OF GOVERNMENT (Prepared by). 1947 *Legislative Summary General Assembly of North Carolina*. (Vol. 13, Number 1-A) Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina. May, 1947. 138 pp. No price indicated.
- INSTITUTE OF LATIN-AMERICAN STUDIES. *Some Economic Aspects of Postwar Inter-American Relations*. Austin, Texas: The University of Texas Press. 1946. 117 pp. No price indicated.
- ISAAC, JULIUS (Editor: Karl Mannheim). *Economics of Migration*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1947. 285 pp. \$4.50
- KARDINER, ABRAM, with collaboration of Herbert Spiegel. *War Stress and Neurotic Illness*. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1947. 428 pp. \$4.50
- KITAY, PHILIP MORTON. *Radicalism and Conservatism toward Conventional Religion*. Columbia University, New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College. 1947. 117 pp. \$2.10
- MACKEY, KENNETH CAMPBELL. *The Progressive Movement In 1924*. Morningside Heights, New York: Columbia University Press. 1947. 298 pp. \$3.75
- McMURRY, RUTH and LEE, MUNA. *The Cultural Approach*. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press. 1947. 280 pp. \$3.50
- MAYO, ELTON. *The Political Problem of Industrial Civilization*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard Business School. 1947. 26 pp. 50 cents
- MOSEIER, RICHARD D. *Making the American Mind*. New York: King's Crown Press. 1947. 207 pp. \$3.00
- MULLER, HENRY McCULLEY. *Urban Home Ownership*. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. 1947. 162 pp. \$2.00
- NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION POLICY. *Immigration and Population Policy*. New York. 1947. 56 pp. 25 cents
- NUGENT, ROLF and DEWING, ARTHUR STONE and ZAHENISER, B. *Stabilisation of Production and Employment*. New Wilmington, Pennsylvania. 1947. 26 pp. 75 cents
- PALMER, E. Z. *Indicators of Current Business Conditions in Wisconsin*. (Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, Vol. 1, No. 2) Madison, Wisconsin: School of Commerce. 1947. 89 pp. \$1.00
- PALMER, EDGAR Z. *The Prewar Industrial Pattern of Wisconsin*. (Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, Vol. 1, No. 1) Madison, Wisconsin: School of Commerce. 1947. 168 pp. \$1.00
- PEATMAN, JOHN GRAY. *Descriptive and Sampling Statistics*. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1947. 577 pp. No price indicated.
- PETERSON, FLORENCE. *Survey of Labor Economics*. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1947. 843 pp. \$4.00
- POPE, LISTON (Editor). *Labor's Relation to Church and Community*. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1947. 182 pp. \$2.50
- SARTRE, JEAN-PAUL. *Existentialism*. (Translated by